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THE INTERPRETATION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

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There are many interpretations of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans that do not interpret it, but read into it what the interpreter wants to find there. Perhaps the most notable sinner in recent years in this respect is Karl Barth, who makes each statement of St Paul in the Epistle a diving board from which to plunge into theological dogmatics which were never dreamed of until long after St Paul's time. While the latest exposition of the Epistle which has come to my notice (that in the *Clarendon Bible* by K. E. Kirk, Regius Professor of Moral and Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford, now Bishop of Oxford), does not deviate as widely from St Paul's thought as the exposition of Barth, it conspicuously fails to expound many of the leading ideas of St Paul and instead reads into his words some of the dogmas of later theology, which were quite foreign to a Jewish Christian during the Church's first thirty years. This learned expositor has failed to grasp the essence of St Paul's theme in writing to the Romans or the logical steps by which he develops that theme. He apparently assumed at the start that St Paul was a theologian, interested in expounding and defending a the-

ology that in St Paul's day had not yet emerged. Dr Kirk accordingly finds in Romans what he takes for the main points of this theology, assumes that they are the "main ideas" of the Epistle, and proceeds to expound this doctrine. He does, it is true, find a logical scheme in Romans, but claims that it is so obscured by parentheses, the expression of the Apostle's prepossessions, and by digressions, that it can not easily be discerned.

Kirk's treatment begins with the statement that St Paul "opens his account of the gospel by propounding two great questions: (1) How shall God be vindicated against the suspicion of indifference to evil? (2) How shall man be relieved of the burden of sin and guilt?" In answering these questions, the Bishop claims that St Paul subsumed the answer to the first in his answer to the second. The answer to the second is, he thinks, found in the following structure of the Epistle:

1. Christ by His death has brought relief from sin: chs. 1-3.
2. The benefits of his death are appropriated by faith: ch. 4.
3. The type of life which faith produces: chs. 5-8.
4. God's treatment of the Jews and ultimate purpose concerning them: chs. 9-11.
5. Illustrations of what is implied by the Christian type of life: ch. 12-15: 13.

After this analysis, the "main ideas" of the Epistle are set forth by the interpreter. They are: 1. The Righteousness of God. 2. The Universality of Sin. 3. The Justification of Man. 4. The Death of Christ: Atonement. 5. Faith and Works: Grace and Law: Gentile and Jew. 6. Grace and Freedom: Sanctification: the New Life. 7. Ethical Psychology: Flesh and Spirit. 8. The Redeemer: the Holy Spirit: 'in the Spirit': 'in Christ.' 9. Baptism: the Church: Love of the Brethren. 10. Predestination: Election: the Remnant: the Problem of Jewish Apostasy.

St Paul does not in the Epistle treat these topics consecutively. To discover his references to them one has to pick out verses or parts of chapters here and there. If he set out to treat these topics he did it most unsystematically; he touches upon one of them, wanders away to another subject, from that to another

and another, finally coming back to the first one. It is this that makes Bishop Kirk think that the Epistle is marred by parentheses and digressions. He expresses surprise and implies a criticism of St Paul because, in an Epistle of such length, he gives so little space to the Atonement, treating it only in ch. 3: 21-31.

Dr Kirk seems quite unaware that the whole Epistle deals with the work of Christ in setting man free from sin, but that St Paul's conception of how it was accomplished and of the part Christ's death performed in it was utterly lost in Catholic theology. St Paul was a Jew; his outlook on life and the presuppositions of his thought were Jewish; he wrote this Epistle at the climax of a fifteen year controversy with Jewish Christians as to whether Gentiles could be Christians without first becoming Jews. His terminology is throughout tinged by the hues of this Jewish atmosphere. By the second century the Church and the Synagogue had been separated for decades and the majority of Christians were Gentiles. Neither the Catholic theologians nor those of the Reformation ever knew the ancient Jewish points of view by which alone the Epistle to the Romans can be understood. They are only now being recovered. This recovery, however, has apparently not yet been accepted by Bishop Kirk. When it is accepted and the Epistle to the Romans is studied in its light, one gets a very different impression of its structure from that given in the *Clarendon Bible*, and many of the Bishop's criticisms are inappropriate. This exegetical approach affords a more scientific hermeneutic and leads more certainly to the revelation of the Apostle's actual meaning.

Bishop Kirk makes two assumptions which I believe to be erroneous. One is that the membership of the Church at Rome was predominantly Gentile. He apparently (p. 32 f.), bases this assumption in part on the metaphor of grafting, employed in Romans 11: 17-21. It is true that St Paul says there, "But if some of the branches were broken off, and thou, being a wild olive, wast grafted in." The "thou" does not, however, imply that the whole Church was Gentile any more than "but if thou bearest the name of a Jew" in ch. 2: 17 proves that the member-

ship of the Church was exclusively Jewish. As Kirk himself points out elsewhere, it is a characteristic of St Paul to carry on a dialogue with an imaginary interlocutor. Doubtless there were in the Church at Rome Gentile members as there were in all the Pauline churches, but the two bits of evidence that have come down to us indicate that the bulk of its membership was Jewish and until at least a decade after the Epistle to the Romans was written the Christians at Rome regarded themselves as members of the Jewish community there. The Epistle to the Romans was itself written to discuss a problem of vital and primary interest to Jews—must Gentile Christians obey the Jewish law? Is there a way to God's favor apart from that law? Had that problem not been of primary interest in Rome because the majority of the Christians there were Jews, it is hardly conceivable that the Epistle to the Romans could have taken the form it bears.

The second bit of evidence consists of the Epistle to the Hebrews. There is among scholars a growing consensus of opinion that that document was either a letter directed to the Church at Rome or an address made to that Church. Like Romans the letter discusses for Jews a Jewish problem. But more: in ch. 13: 10-13 its author implies that until that time the Christians at Rome have been a part of the Jewish community, that conditions have now become so intolerable that this relationship must be broken, and he boldly exhorts his fellows "to go forth with him (Jesus) without the camp (the Jewish community), bearing his reproach." It seems clear, therefore, that however many Gentiles the Church at Rome may have contained, it was, up to the composition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, predominantly Jewish.¹

On the assumption that the Roman Church was Gentile, Dr Kirk assumes that it may have been founded decades before St Paul composed his Epistle to it. While we have not much evidence on this point, that seems a most precarious supposition. Such evidence as we have points to the years 55 or 56 A.D. as the date of the founding of the Church at Rome. From about the

¹ See *The Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. LVII, pp. 195-207 (June 1938).

year 49 until his death in 54 A.D. Claudius had banished all Jews from Rome. Such as remained were denied the right of assemblage. Under Nero Jews were permitted to return; it is probable that it was then that the Roman Church came into existence. On his so-called second and third missionary journeys St Paul had decided to evangelize influential cities such as Corinth and Ephesus. From these Christianity could and would spread. When Jews were permitted to return to Rome, St Paul recognized its importance as an influential center from which Christianity should radiate. A number of his Ephesian helpers appear to have returned to Rome at once: Aquila and Prisca, Andronicus and Junius (Rom. 16: 3 and 7). It is probable that the Roman Church was founded at that time. It was predominantly a Jewish Church. At the time St Paul had had on his hands for fifteen years an acute controversy with a Jewish section of the Christian Church over the question whether Gentile Christians could become members of the Church in good standing without becoming Jewish proselytes. He recognized the probable future influence of the Church at Rome, since it was in the world's capital city. It was important that the influence of that Church be thrown upon the liberal side of this controversy. At the time St Paul was pledged to go to Jerusalem on a special mission. He could not go to Rome in person to set forth the liberal view. He accordingly wrote to them the letter which we call the Epistle to the Romans. It was written by a Jewish Christian to a community consisting mainly of Jewish Christians, to discuss a question that could assume the importance given it in the document before us only in the minds of those born and educated as Jews. It treats the question from the point of view of a liberal Jewish Christian of the sixth decade of the first century. The assumptions which underly its thought are those of a Jewish Rabbi of that time, not the detached views of a Greek philosopher or the theological outlook of a later Church Father. Its terminology is Jewish. 'Justification,' 'condemnation,' and 'sanctification' possess the connotations which they had in Jewish legal terminology.

Against this background the Epistle may be studied with some hope of doing justice to St Paul's letter by letting him say what he meant to say, without reading into his words the thoughts of a later age. Studied from this point of view and in this manner, the Epistle falls into four main parts:

- I. The Introduction, 1: 1-15.
- II. The Theme and the Proof of it, 1: 16-11: 36.

This portion of the Epistle reveals to the student the following structure:

1. The theme is stated, 1: 16, 17. It is that in Christ there is revealed a "righteousness of God by faith apart from the law." (Compare 3: 21 where, at the end of the first full section of the argument, the theme is restated.)
2. The need for such a revelation is demonstrated, 1: 18-3: 22. The demonstration is as follows:
 - (a) That the Gentiles needed such a revelation their moral degeneration proves, 1: 18-32.
 - (b) That the Jews needed it, their failure to attain righteousness by the law proves, 2: 1-3: 8.
 - (c) Sin is universal, 3: 9-22.
3. How God set forth a 'mercy seat' in Christ apart from the law and how his mercy is manifested, 3: 23-31.
4. The working of righteousness by faith illustrated in the case of Abraham, ch. 4.
5. An exhortation to take advantage of the new life thus offered, 5: 1-11.
6. The racial scope of Christ's work, 5: 12-21.
7. The 'mercy seat' opened in Christ does not encourage one to sin, ch. 6.
8. The Apostle's personal experience of this righteousness, chs. 7, 8.
 - (a) His experience of the need of it when in Judaism, ch. 7.
 - (b) His triumphant experience of it as a Christian, ch. 8.
9. How is God's setting forth such a 'mercy seat' for all consistent with his promises to Israel? chs. 9-11.
 - (a) Paul's love of Israel, 9: 1-5.
 - (b) The rejection of some Jews is not inconsistent with God's promises, 9: 6-13.
 - (c) Such rejection is within the province of God and not inconsistent with His justice, 9: 14-29.
 - (d) Israel is alone responsible for her rejection, 9: 30-10: 13.
 - (e) She is not excused for lack of opportunity, 10: 14-21.
 - (f) Israel's rejection is not complete, 11: 1-10.
 - (g) Her rejection is not final, 11: 11-24.
 - (h) God's ultimate purpose, the salvation of all, 11: 25-36.

III. Exhortations based on the preceding argument, 12: 1-15: 21.

1. Exhortation to the new life, 12: 1, 2.
2. The right use of the spiritual life, 12: 3-8.
3. Maxims for guidance in spiritual life, 12: 9-21.
4. Obedience to rulers, 13: 1-7.
5. Love the fulfilling of the law, 13: 8-10.
6. The nearness of the Parousia, 13: 11-14.
7. Be forbearing with the excessively scrupulous, 14: 1-15: 13.
8. Apology for presuming thus to admonish, 15: 14-21.

IV. Personal matters, 15: 22-16: 27.

1. The Apostle's plans, 15: 22-33.
2. Commendation of Phoebe, 16: 1, 2.
3. Personal greetings, 16: 3-16.
4. Warning against false teachers, 16: 17-20.
5. Greetings of Paul's companions, 16: 21-23.
6. The final doxology, 16: 25-27.²

When viewed thus in the light of its setting and purpose, the Epistle to the Romans appears logical and well articulated throughout. Bishop Kirk (p. 30) calls Rom. 5: 8-11 a "digression," giving it the name of "the hymn of the crucified Jesus," but, if it is a digression, the whole section 5: 1-11 is a digression. To me, however, it does not seem such. It was appropriate, as a part of the Apostle's argument, after setting forth the working of righteousness by faith in the case of Abraham, for St Paul to urge his readers to test it in their own lives. In making this appeal what more effective motive could be urged than the undeserved love of Christ for men, manifested in his death? Similarly 6: 15-23 is not a digression. It is a sound psychological argument. The business in hand was to prove that, because in Christ God graciously forgives, we should not continue in sin to give Him an opportunity to be gracious. In these verses St Paul meets the case with a psychological principle worthy of William James. "Know ye not that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are whom ye obey?" It is the principle that habits make slaves and destroy character. As William James put it, the thirsty drunkard, trying

² Into the critical questions connected with chs. 15, 16 it is not necessary to go here. The writer believes that, whatever the solution of the variations in the manuscripts may be, the material in the Epistle was all addressed to the Church at Rome.

to reform, may say: "I must have this one glass. I will not count it." He may not count it, but the molecules in his backbone will. St Paul had never heard of psychology or of molecules, but from experience and observation he knew the principle, and the principle is not only appropriate, but one of the most telling of arguments to prove his point. Those who are slaves of sin cannot share the righteousness of God. Again, 7: 7-25 is not a digression as Kirk thinks. St Paul was in this portion of the letter giving his personal experience of "the righteousness of God by faith" and it was necessary that he should portray in vivid colors his experience of the need of it as a background against which to set forth the triumphant experience of it in ch. 8. Again, chs. 9-11, so far from being a digression which interrupts the flow of the argument, as Bishop Kirk thinks, were, for St Paul and his readers, one of the most necessary parts of the argument. The conviction that God had chosen Israel and given her promises of special favors had been for centuries the pivot of their religion. If God were a Being worthy of their trust and worship, he must be consistent: his promises must be valid: he must be righteous (i.e., *tsedeq*, 'law-abiding'). So far from interrupting the argument, these chapters were, for St Paul and the Jewish Christians at Rome, the climax of it all.

Enough has been said, I think, to show that the purpose of the Epistle was not, as Bishop Kirk thinks (p. 25), to prepare the way for St Paul's own visit to the Church there. St Paul had at the time no intention of going to Rome to labor. It was not his custom "to build upon another man's foundation" (Rom. 15: 20). The purpose of the Epistle was to persuade the Roman Church to become a Church of the Pauline type—a Church in which Jews and uncircumcised Gentiles might mingle freely on an equal footing—and not a Church of Jews and circumcised proselytes only. The fact that, during this fifteen year old controversy with Judaizers, St Paul had not written to the Church in the capital city, so strategically placed for widely extending influence, is a strong argument in favor of the view that the

Church at Rome had, when Romans was written, but just come into existence.

While the matters so far discussed are important, they have to do only with the periphery of the subject. It is an important periphery because without it we cannot understand the setting of the heart of the matter. This Jewish setting and atmosphere in which St Paul lived affected aspects of his thought that are much more theologically vital. Dr Kirk expresses surprise (p. 31 f.) that St Paul, who devotes so much space to condemning human sinfulness, to Abraham's faith, and to Adam's influence, should devote so little space (3: 21-31) to the Atonement. This surprise results, I feel sure, from a failure to understand St Paul's view of the Atonement. When that is understood, it becomes clear that the whole of Part II of the Epistle is a treatment of the Atonement—of the means God had taken in Christ to open a way for man to become really reconciled to God and to live a life that would enable him here and now to achieve a righteousness pleasing to God. Theological publications began to call the attention of scholars to the key to the mystery of St Paul's doctrine of Atonement forty-five years ago; but the strong conviction that St Paul must have reasoned just as the Church Fathers, or the Catholic theologians, or the Reformers, or the Evangelicals reasoned, has prevented any extended use of the key.

The fact is St Paul's doctrine of Reconciliation (it ought not to be called Atonement, since with that term so many ideas of retribution are now associated), contained two parts: a system of rabbinic philosophy by which he was convinced that God, who gave the Jewish law, could, in consistency with His own character, forgive, apart from any consideration of that law, sin which the law condemned; and a belief in a mystic union of the believer with Christ, which enabled the believer to live a triumphantly righteous life pleasing to God. Of these two elements the second was in St Paul's thought the more important and in the Epistle much space is devoted to it. St Paul had reached this view partly from his rabbinic training and partly by experience.

To the Jew, Law meant the Pentateuchal law. The traditions for its proper enforcement that were later gathered in the Talmud were growing up, but had not yet reached the sanctity which they later assumed. We speak of cosmic law, evolutionary law, the law of gravitation, or the law of abstract justice. Such concepts were foreign to the Judaism of St Paul's day. Law meant to him, unless otherwise defined (as in Rom. 7: 21), the written law of the Pentateuch. God had given the law, all of it. No distinction could be made between what we call ceremonial and moral laws. To do so would be impious. God had given it all and it must all be obeyed. By this law God had marked out an avenue through which he could be approached by man and his favor enjoyed. To him by way of this avenue every Jew must walk. A Gentile who desired God's favor must, by the gate of proselytism, become a Jew and approach God by the avenue of obedience to this law. Saul of Tarsus had endeavored to attain conformity to this law and so win God's favor and had failed. How miserably he had failed he portrays in Romans 7. He was in despair, not only for himself, but for all men.

The key that afforded the solution of his dilemma he reveals to us in Gal. 3: 13—a passage which Dr Kirk confesses (p. 67) that he does not understand. Christ had been crucified—hung on a tree. The law (Deut. 21: 23) declared that God's curse rested on all such and that that curse might spread to the land. As a Jew Saul had understood this and he had persecuted Christians to stamp out this curse. Then near Damascus he was convinced by his vision that God had honored Christ by raising him from the dead, in spite of the fact that the law cursed him. By this act, he reasoned, God had abrogated his own curse. He had opened a "mercy seat" apart from the law. To this mercy seat men might come by faith directly to God in Christ and find God's favor without coming through the avenue of the law. As he pondered he discovered from Genesis that Abraham had thus come to God directly. He could not have approached God through the law for the law had not been given. Abraham's faith was counted righteousness (i.e. *tsedeq*, conformity to law). So, coming to the

mercy seat opened in Christ by God's own gracious act, man was justified (*hitsdiq*), 'acquitted' or 'pronounced innocent' of all the offenses which the Pentateuchal law had accumulated against him.

This is the rabbinical side of St Paul's theory. He employs *hilastêrion* (Rom. 3: 25) not in the sense of 'propitiatory offering,' or 'atoning offering,' or in any sacrificial sense. St Paul's thought did not, as he formed his theory explaining the effect of Christ's death, move in the region of the temple and the altar, but in the region of the cross. The cross no more suggested to him an altar than an electric chair suggests to us a communion table. He seized upon the word *hilastêrion* because it meant 'mercy seat,' not because it had aught to do with sacrifice, but because it meant a place where God graciously bestowed mercy. The word occurs in the Septuagint twenty-six times and is always applied to a place, never to an offering. Twenty of these instances refer to the cover of the ark of the covenant. In Hebrews 9: 5, the only other occurrence of *hilastêrion* in the New Testament, it has always been translated 'mercy seat.' It is apparently only doctrinal considerations which make theologians unwilling to recognize that it has that meaning in Rom. 3: 25. This is a case, however, where theology should wait on lexicography and not vice versa. The *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament* edited by Gerhard Kittel is compelled by the evidence to conclude that it is very questionable whether there is in the use of the word in Rom. 3: 25 any sacrificial reference.

Two other passages in Epistles attributed to St Paul are sometimes cited to justify a sacrificial interpretation of *hilastêrion*. In one of these (1 Cor. 5: 7) St Paul, writing about Passover-time, urges as a reason for putting away the leaven of an immoral life that "Christ our passover hath been sacrificed for us." It was a passing figure, suggested to him by the season in which he was writing. Even if the figure were to be pressed, the passover-lamb was not a sacrifice for sin. The other passage occurs in Eph. 5: 2, an Epistle probably not from St Paul's own hand. Here it is said that Christ gave himself "for us an offering and a sacrifice to

God for an odor of sweet smell"—a truly sacrificial figure. How little significance can be attached to it as an index of St Paul's interpretation of the way the death of Christ, even if it were to be conceded that he was the author of Ephesians, is shown by Philippians 4: 18, where St Paul declares that the gift of money sent him by the Philippians through Epaphroditus was "an odor of sweet smell, a sacrifice well pleasing to God." No one would think of claiming that the gift of the Philippians was a ritual sacrifice for anybody's sin, yet St Paul applied to it the same terms which Ephesians applies to the death of Christ. St Paul's explanation of the way in which the death of Christ outwardly effected the remission of sins originated from the cross, the gibbet, and not from the altar. Christ died but once, and that was on the cross. His blood was shed but once, and that was on the cross. In the Pauline vocabulary that horrible death of Christ, which made the victim accursed of God (Deut. 21: 23), is referred to by either of the words 'cross,' 'death,' or 'blood.'

It would, however, be a grave injustice to St Paul and a caricature of his thought to say that this rabbinic philosophy constituted his gospel. Were there no more in it than this, St Paul's preaching would have been of but temporary significance. While he wrote both the Epistle to the Galatians and that to the Romans to set forth this philosophy, he wrote them even more to set forth the powerful moral appeal of the self-sacrifice of Christ in voluntarily giving himself to the death of the cross (he "loved me and gave himself up for me," Gal. 2: 20), and also to set forth the transforming power of mystic union with Christ for those who, apart from the law, come to him as to God's new mercy-seat and are united to him by faith. This was to "be in Christ" and to be a "new creation" (2 Cor. 5: 17); it was to "put on Christ" (Gal. 3: 27); it was to have "Christ formed in you" (Gal. 4: 19); it was to die to sin and have one's "life hid with Christ in God" (Col. 3: 3). When these facts are grasped, St Paul's conception of the Atonement (or as he would call it reconciliation to God, 2 Cor. 5: 18-20) is seen to be much larger than that of later theologians and quite different from it. So far from confining

his treatment of the subject to Rom. 3: 21-31, as Dr Kirk thinks, St Paul treats it directly through the next four chapters of Romans. The glowing description of the triumphant life in Christ in Romans 8 is as much a part of his theory as the reference to Christ's death in Rom. 3: 24-26. Indeed, it is the climax of his exposition of it.

The truth is that the understanding of the death of Christ as a ritual sacrifice and as the fulfilment of the types embodied in the Jewish sacrifices of the Old Testament period was introduced into Christian thought, not by St Paul, but by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. That writer not only belonged to the second generation of Christians, and so was further removed from the "offense" of the cross, but he had come under the spell of Philo's allegorical interpretation of the characters and institutions of the Pentateuch. Under the influence of the Old Testament his interpretation prevailed in Christian theology, but there is nothing to be lost and much to be gained by recovering the true historical development. The great difficulty has been that theologians are not mystics, and that St Paul was one. Incapable as a rule of intense mystic experience, they refuse to acknowledge its existence. In their spiritual pharmacopeia everything must be reduced to legal, forensic, or sacramental formulæ. St Paul's experience had taken him far beyond forensic thought and ritual practice into the regions of pulsating and triumphant life. For two reasons, then, St Paul is usually misinterpreted: commentators do not grasp the Jewishness of his rabbinic philosophy or the large mystic element in his doctrine of Atonement.

Bishop Kirk's commentary on Romans contains many excellent archæological notes, illuminating observations suggested by that knowledge of the Classics for which Oxford scholarship is noted, as well as acute moral observations. It would be unjust to omit a word of appreciation of these qualities, but, for the reasons already stated, it can hardly be regarded as a successful exposition of the Epistle.

THE 'STORY' IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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The 'story' is part of the very warp and woof of our civilization. From the little child who stubbornly refuses to close his eyes in sleep until told a bed-time story by his mother or nurse, to the man or woman burning the midnight oil in a frantic effort to devour the latest bit of detective fiction—all of us, young and old, enjoy in some shape or form the story. Every nation has its traditional stories, handed down from the dim, dark past and reflecting its peculiar national character. The ancient Greeks had the tales of their gods; the Romans the legendary accounts of the founding of their great empire; the Norsemen their sagas; and we of today have our "best short stories" and our best-selling novels. Finally, as we shall see presently, the Bible itself contains stories every whit as great as those found in any of the collections already mentioned.

The purpose of the present paper is to study the stories found in the section 1 Kings 17—2 Kings 9 with a view to noting certain of the literary features which make these the great works of art that they are. With critical questions as to the historicity of the various narratives and the different forms which they have assumed in the course of transmission, we shall be concerned only incidentally. Our main interest will be literary: briefly, to attempt an answer to the question, What is it that gives to these stories—simple in structure as they are—the undoubted place that they hold in the literature of the world?

The first feature, perhaps, which strikes one in reading through the Elijah and Elisha narratives, as they are called, is the way in

*The author is indebted to Dr James A. Montgomery of the University of Pennsylvania, and to Dr Fleming James of Berkeley Divinity School, for their helpful suggestions.

which these abound in the graphic and picturesque. The reader is made to feel that he is right there on the spot, a spectator of the scene described. Obvious instances are Elijah's calling down of fire from heaven in the story of the contest on Mount Carmel and in that of Ahaziah's messengers; Elijah's smiting of the waters of the Jordan with his mantle; and the cry of Elisha, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof" (1 Kgs. 18: 38; 2 Kgs. 1: 10f; 2: 8; 2: 12). Indeed, the whole of the account of Elijah's ascent into heaven is one of the finest pieces of descriptive prose in the entire Bible. Other such vivid touches are Elisha's slaying of his oxen and "boiling their flesh with the instruments of the oxen" and giving it to the people to eat (1 Kgs. 19: 21); the description of Elijah as "an hairy man, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins" (2 Kgs. 1: 8); and the coming forth of "two she bears out of the wood" to attack the children who mocked Elisha (2 Kgs. 2: 24). All of these instances of the colorful are fairly obvious, even to the casual reader of the Bible. There are others, however, which are more delicately wrought, more subtle. Think, for example, how immeasurably poorer would be the account of Elijah and the widow of Zarephath without the reference to the widow's "gathering two sticks," or the story of Elisha and the Shunammite woman if, instead of the picturesque "a bed, and a table, and a stool, and a candlestick," we were to read simply that the prophet was given a furnished room (2 Kgs. 4: 10).

Closely akin to this feature, but sufficiently distinct to be treated separately for the purposes of literary analysis, is the remarkable way in which these stories are true to life. Ahab "sulks" because he cannot have Naboth's vineyard (1 Kgs. 21: 4). He is the sort of person whom we, in our contemporary slang, would describe as "hen-pecked": "... Ahab ... whom Jezebel his wife stirred up" (1 Kgs. 21: 25). We may note also the eagerness with which "the sons of the prophets ... at Jericho" insisted on organizing a search party to go and look for Elijah's body, "lest peradventure the Spirit of the Lord hath taken him up, and cast him upon some mountain, or into some valley" (2

Kgs. 2: 16). Characteristic also of human nature is Elisha's comment, after the hunt had ended in failure, "Didn't I tell you so?" (2 Kgs. 2: 18, paraphrased). The hospitality which the Shunammite offered Elisha is paralleled today by that which certain well-to-do families offer the clergy. Only the other day a brother priest was telling the present writer of two homes where he felt perfectly free to spend the night at a moment's notice.

So well is this trueness to life illustrated by one story in particular, that we may well give to this a separate and somewhat detailed treatment. We refer to the account of the sickness and healing by Elisha of the Shunammite's son (2 Kgs. 4: 18f). The boy, we read, when he is grown, goes "out to his father to the reapers." Right here at the outset we are given a life-like touch, for what normal boy is not thrilled by the opportunity to be around when his father is at work or supervising others as they work? He cries, "My head, my head"; and we have an obvious case of sunstroke—an occurrence by no means surprising under the circumstances. His father has him taken to his mother—the thing that most fathers would do in a like predicament. When the child dies, she realizes that there is but one "specialist" in the whole world who can bring him to life, and she loses no time in reaching him. She bolts the door upon the dead child, and, with feminine determinedness, decides to take matters into her own hands. To her husband's protestations—"Wherefore wilt thou go to him [i.e., Elisha] today? it is neither new moon nor sabbath"—she replies in a manner indicating that her mind is made up.¹ When the prophet sees her "afar off," he sends Gehazi, his servant, to enquire how she and her husband and the child are faring. Again, this is the thing that we should expect Elisha, who had enjoyed the woman's hospitality, to do. When Gehazi asks, "Is it well with thee? is it well with thy husband? is it well with the child?," she answers, "It is well." No time this to waste in detailed explanations with an underling; the thing to do is to get to headquarters as quickly as possible. When she reaches the

¹ Her cry, "It shall be well" (A. S. V. margin "Peace"), is practically equivalent to "Shut up."

man of God, she catches hold of his feet, just as with us, when one is in great distress, one will simply fall upon the shoulders of another before explaining the nature of the trouble. From start to finish, the story is a most remarkable example of trueness to life—an impression that grows on one the more he reads it.

What we have said thus far applies pretty much to the section 1 Kings 17–2 Kings 9 as a whole; the features noted are distributed fairly evenly throughout, being just as characteristic of the Elisha as of the Elijah narratives. We turn now to certain individual stories containing within themselves elements which set them off from the rest as unique, and which give to them a charm all of their own. Take, for example, the account of the contest on Mount Carmel. Here the distinguishing mark, apart from the character of the prophet himself, is the grand climax with which the whole is concluded: "Then the fire of the Lord fell, and consumed the burnt sacrifice, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench. And when all the people saw it, they fell on their faces: and they said, The Lord, he is the God; the Lord, he is the God" (1 Kgs. 18: 38–39).² So, too, does the story of Elijah's ascent find its conclusion in words of surpassing beauty and stateliness: "And when the sons of the prophets which were to view at Jericho saw him [i.e., Elijah's successor, Elisha], they said, The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him." (2 Kgs. 2: 15.) We can almost see them as they do their homage.

Of an entirely different character, but equally interesting nevertheless, and touching in its human appeal, is the account of the restoration of the Shunammite's land (2 Kgs. 8: 1–6). Here we have a story of unadorned simplicity. One has only to read it to himself to notice this feature. Noteworthy, too, is the place held

² V. 40, according to some scholars, is a later addition and does seem, to the present writer at least, to spoil the effect of what they and he regard as the original conclusion, namely, v. 39.

It is gratifying to note that the 'New Lectionary' put out by the Liturgical Commission "for experimental use" makes the public reading of this story end at v. 39 (see 'First Lesson' for morning of Trinity XXIII).

by, and the consideration given to, a woman in the story—a mark that accords well with the “startlingly true depiction of woman’s character throughout the Bible.”

An interesting little story, though far inferior to any of those already discussed, is that of the children devoured by the bears (2 Kgs. 2: 23–24). Elisha is on his way to Beth-el, and as he approaches the city there meet him “little children” who, as children will do, mock him: “Go up, thou bald head; go up, thou bald head.” The prophet curses them “in the name of the Lord,” and there come forth out of the woods “two she bears” which tear in pieces “forty and two” of them. It is tempting to see in this what was originally a nursery rhyme with a moral, told to Hebrew children to instill in them respect for their elders. If there is any truth in this suggestion, it is not surprising that the name of the prophet was either attached to the story from the beginning or became so later on. We of the twentieth century are inclined to be sceptical of the pedagogical value of such methods, but no doubt the effect upon many was great. It must be admitted, of course, that all of this is pure conjecture, yet it does seem to fit. In the technical language of *Formgeschichte*, may we not ask whether the *Sitz im Leben* of the story is to be sought thus?

Before concluding, something must be said of the character of the two heroes, for it is surely this as much as anything else that has contributed to the popularity of the narratives. Elijah is by far the greater, and the stories told of him are on a decidedly higher level.³ He is represented as a man who keeps his promise: “As the Lord of hosts liveth, before whom I stand, I will surely show myself unto him [Ahab] today. . . . And it came to pass, when Ahab saw Elijah,” etc. (1 Kgs. 18: 15, 17). His influence over Ahab must have been considerable, especially when we recall that which Ahab’s wife exercised in an opposite direction. For he succeeds in persuading Ahab to “send, and gather . . . all Israel unto Mount Carmel, and the prophets of Baal four hun-

³ It is significant in this connection that, while the N. T. mentions Elisha but once (Lk. 4: 27), Elijah is referred to no less than thirty times.

dred and fifty, and the prophets of the groves four hundred, which eat at Jezebel's table" (1 Kgs. 18: 19). Elijah is portrayed as a man of outstanding natural dignity and a commanding presence, who in a great crisis is perfectly capable of taking the initiative. This is brought out most clearly in the Mount Carmel story. The force of it can be felt merely by reading the narrative: "And Elijah came unto all the people, and said, How long halt ye between two opinions? if the Lord be God, follow him: but if Baal, then follow him. And the people answered him not a word." Evidently Elijah was no person to be argued with. He is a man of remarkable fairness. In organizing the contest on Mount Carmel, he is as impartial and "objective" as a modern scientist conducting an experiment in a laboratory. He allows the other side to have first choice: "Choose you one bullock for yourselves, and dress it first; for ye are many; and call on the name of your gods, but put no fire under" (18:25). To insure absolute fair play on his own part, he makes "a trench about the altar, as great as would contain two measures of seed," and fills "the trench also with water" (18: 32, 35). On the other hand, that he can indulge in irony on occasion, is seen in his taunting the followers of Baal when their god refuses to answer by fire (18: 27). Fright can get the better of him, as we see when he flees from Jezebel's wrath, and he is not beyond yielding to despair: "It is enough; now, O Lord, take away my life; for I am not better than my fathers" (19: 4). He waits for the divine command, "Go down with him," before going down to the king with Ahaziah's third messenger (2 Kgs. 1: 15). And finally, he shows great concern for Elisha's wishes and comfort. He lets him return to "kiss" his father and mother before following him (1 Kgs. 19: 20), and, in the story of the ascent, bids Elisha three times "Tarry here" while he himself goes elsewhere and also asks what he shall do for him before he is taken up. Apparently, if he had lived today, Elijah would have been a most congenial and considerate rector for a young curate to work under.

Turning now to Elisha, we may note a certain brusqueness and impatience of manner and speech: "And he said, Ye shall not send" (i.e., to seek Elijah's body); "And . . . he said unto them, Did I not say unto you, Go not?" (when the search had proved fruitless); "But he said, Then bring meal" (story of the poisonous pottage); "Thou shouldest have smitten five or six times; then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed it: whereas now thou shalt smite Syria but thrice" (last illness and sign). He curses "in the name of the Lord" the children who mock him (2 Kgs. 2: 24), is genuinely appreciative of the Shunammite's hospitality (*cf.* his question to Gehazi, "What then is to be done for her?"), and shows himself a man of compassion both in responding immediately to her appeal on behalf of her son and in counselling her to live elsewhere during the famine. One notes also an element of patriotism in the prophet's lament before Hazael: "And Hazael said, Why weepeth my lord? And he answered, Because I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: their strongholds wilt thou set on fire, and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child" (2 Kgs. 8: 12). Finally, there is a magnanimity about Elisha, which shows itself both in his refusal to accept a gift from Naaman and in his insistence that the captive Syrians whom he has brought to Samaria be treated as friends rather than as enemies, and that they be sent back to their master.

Some of the stories told about Elisha are decidedly naive and trivial, and would be unthinkable with Elijah as their hero. The account of the healing of the waters of Jericho, the story of the bears coming out of the wood and devouring the children, the poisonous pottage and the recovery of the axe-head—in these, at least in the mind of the compiler, the miraculous looms large. But this is exploited for ends that are relatively trivial. Elisha is presented to us as a conjurer rather than as a "man of God." We cannot imagine Elijah performing such tricks. But is it not possible that this miraculous element is an afterthought, and that behind it there is an underlying substratum of fact? Take for

example the story of the axe-head recovered. In its present form, this is indeed a miracle with a vengeance. But may it not originally have been simply an account of unusual manual dexterity in recovering a sunken object? To show that this suggestion is not entirely fanciful, we call attention to one of these stories in particular which, with very little 'pruning,' need not be taken as a miracle at all—the account of the healing of the waters of Jericho. We all know the prophylactic properties of salt, and there may be no more implied in the story than just this.

We have here allowed ourselves to touch upon the historical question because, if there is anything in the suggestion which we have advanced, it serves to throw additional light upon the character of Elisha himself: he is not the conjurer with the bag of tricks that we supposed him to be, but a man of varied practical knowledge—one who is familiar with the laws of nature and knows how to manipulate them for human ends. He is what we today would call a "handy" man, who, if he were living among us, would save us the trouble of sending for the electrician every time the lights went out.

We must now summarize the results of our study and bring our survey to a conclusion. The factors which contribute to the charm of these stories are those wherein lies the greatness of all really great stories: vivid and picturesque touches, accurate portrayal of character, and choice of language and style—simple and straightforward when the content of the narrative calls for it, otherwise dignified and impressive and with skilful working up to climax. Early and (for us Christians) significant testimony to the regard in which these stories were held is to be found in Luke 4: 25-27, where our Lord in His first recorded sermon makes reference both to an Elijah and to an Elisha story: "And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up for to read. . . . And he said, Verily I say unto you, No prophet is accepted in his own country. But I tell you of a truth, many widows were in Israel in the days of Elias (Elijah) when the

heaven was shut up three years and six months. . . . But unto none of them was Elias sent, save unto Sarepta, a city of Sidon, unto a woman that was a widow. And many lepers were in Israel in the time of Eliseus (Elisha) the prophet; and none of them was cleansed, saving Naaman the Syrian." Evidently our Lord—or at least some early Christian—was steeped in these stories and had pondered carefully their deeper meaning.

The personality of the two heroes we have also had occasion to note. Although Elisha is by no means insignificant, none the less, when all is said and done, it is Elijah who eclipses his successor. This seems to have been the judgment of antiquity as well, for in two ways does subsequent tradition bear witness to the fact: Elisha is not carried up into heaven, although his bones do contain miraculous powers;⁴ and it is Elijah—not Elisha—who becomes the prototype of the Baptist, affording thereby in his own person one of the connecting links between the Old Testament and the New.⁵

⁴ 2 Kings 13: 21.

⁵ Mal. 4:5-6; Mat. 11: 14; 17: 10f.

THE WORD *ἐπισκοπος* IN PRE-CHRISTIAN USAGE

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Ancient Greek terminology has furnished appellations for a great variety of forms of human thought, endeavor, and organization. Upon the nomenclature of Christian ecclesiastical organization it exerted profound influence. Amongst the several titles it contributed, perhaps the most significant is that of *ἐπισκοπος*. Some little additional light may possibly be cast upon the original function and significance of the men who bore this title by ascertaining its precise contemporary meaning when it was borrowed by the early Christian Church.

The Greeks used many diverse titles, for, basically, their civilization was one of societies and this involved the existence of many different offices. Moreover, it was the normal thing for Greeks to hold office, to *assume responsibility* for some particular matter in their city state and in the societies of which they were active members. Passive citizenship or membership, so familiar to the modern world, was unfamiliar to the Greeks. Active participation and support of that to which they belonged was ingrained in the Greeks. Those of them who joined the Christian Church naturally expected to assume responsibilities. Any other course would not have seemed normal.

"To assume responsibility" is the key phrase for the comprehension of the very large number of titles which were employed to describe the many, many offices. Secondly, the precise meaning of these titles would be known to many because they had learned it from the actual experience of holding it themselves. Thirdly, each title appears to have had a fairly distinct connotation, regardless of what type of society it was used in.

The organization of the early Christian Church would seem to reflect the fusion of two systems, that of the Hebrew community and that of the Greek society. Just as the Church was affected by Greek modes of thought, so it was influenced, also, by the Greek manner of running their societies as vital entities in which a large number of members assumed definite responsibilities. And it was in such a manner that the early churches came to function as effectively as they did.

It must be noted, and this is very important, that the early Greek Christians sought to identify the titles which they took over from contemporary societies with such as were used in the Old Testament, for upon that the validity of the terms for Christian usage would rest.

Accordingly, considerable significance is to be attached to the last two sentences in chapter 42 of Clement's *First Epistle to the Corinthians*: "Nor was this any new thing, since indeed many ages before it was written concerning bishops and deacons. For thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, 'I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith.'" Clement here is citing Isaiah 60: 17b, but is changing the Hebrew and Septuagint texts from *καὶ δώσω τοὺς ἀρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ* (I will give thy rulers in peace and thy overseers in righteousness) to *καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει*. Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, iv.26.5 is evidence for the fact that Isaiah 60: 17b was used as the standard justification for the orders of bishops and deacons. Irenaeus, however, does not cite the passage in the Clementine form, but as given in the Hebrew and Septuagint texts.

Such Old Testament validation might appear especially necessary for the title of *ἐπίσκοπος* since it was applied, in contemporary as well as in more ancient usage, to the gods of the Greek pantheon, to mythical demi-gods, and to various other imaginary supernatural creatures.

The basic meaning of *ἐπίσκοπος* is "overseer" and that is the original meaning of the word. From this there evolved

two meanings. First, what we might call an indefinite overseer, that is a watchman, a protector, a patron. The functions of such an ἐπίσκοπος would consist in doing that which the two verbs ἐπισκέπτομαι and ἐπισκοπέω intimate, namely to look benignly upon those consigned to protection and to care for them. Secondly, that of a definite overseer, an officeholder with definite, ordinarily technical and financial duties, and, occasionally, with diplomatic functions.

Within the Christian Church the term seems to have been used at first in both senses separately, as one may gather from Philippians 1:1 and 1 Peter 2:25, but in time it was employed to designate the person who *combined* both the functions, the indefinite and the definite. The latter, naturally, would be administrative, the former would be supervision over spiritual matters.

Let us now examine the usage of ἐπίσκοπος as applied to the Greek divinities. The Greek deities were personifications of various attributes of the Original Power ruling over all. Each god had assigned to him or to her—by whom it was never stated, hence apparently by general agreement—something specific to watch over, to protect, and to oversee. In the object of their solicitude there was the widest diversity, and included both the animate and the inanimate, specific regions, cities, villages, fields, gardens, groves of trees, fountains, as well as nations, groups of people, and individuals. As such the gods were described as being ἐπίσκοποι. Furthermore, they were termed ἐπίσκοποι of the agreements made by the organizations which were under their oversight. Thus, in Homer, *Iliad* xxii.254-255, the gods collectively are called μάρτυροι ἔσονται καὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἁρμονιάων, witnesses and overseers of agreements. In similar fashion Herodian, vii.10.3 calls Zeus the μάρτυς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος τῶν πραττομένων, the witness and overseer of treaty makers. Pindar (*Olymp.* xiv.5) praises the *Charites*, who were the goddesses of Orchomenos, as the ἐπίσκοποι or overseers of the Minyans, the original inhabitants of that city. Aeschylus in his drama *Seven Against Thebes*, 271,

makes Eteocles vow "to the guardian gods of our country, whether they haunt the plain or keep watch over the market place" (χώρας τοῖς πολισσούχοις θεοῖς πεδιονόμοις τε καγορᾶς ἐπίσκοποις), describing the gods thus as protectors of the market and as protecting guardians of the city and of the adjacent fields. As protecting ἐπίσκοποι it was the duty of the gods to punish persons who did harm to those who were under their oversight. This is evident in the prayer of Electra, in Aeschylus, *Choephoroe* 124 ff., to the gods as πατρώων αἱμάτων ἐπισκόπους, in which she expresses confidence that they will succor the avenger of her murdered father. Plato, *Leg.* iv.717d, describes Nemesis, the messenger of Dike (Virtue), as bound to observe the disobedience of children towards their parents. Sophocles, in *Antigone* 1148, calls Bacchus νυχίων φθεγμάτων ἐπίσκοπος (the overseer of night revelers). Demosthenes describes Pallas Athene as holding her hands protectingly as ἐπίσκοπος over the city of Athens. Callimachus, *Hymn* iii.39, calls the goddess Artemis ἀγνιᾶς καὶ λιμένεσσιν ἐπίσκοπος (overseer of streets and harbors). In iii.259, the two last words are contracted into the one word λιμενόσκοπος. Plutarch likewise accords Artemis the appellation of ἐπίσκοπος. In *De Camillo* 5, Plutarch applies the term ἐπίσκοποι to Zeus and to the other gods as watchers over both the good and bad days of man, that which we would call watching the virtues and sins of man. The designation ἐπίσκοπος, then, refers back to the very ancient conception of the Greeks that God's Eye beholds everything that man does, even that which is most secret, and that nothing remains concealed. Therefore no one can with impunity do harm to his neighbors.

Protection rather than direction or management was regarded as the principal attribute of the gods as ἐπίσκοποι. This is brought out clearly again by Cornutus in his philosophical treatise entitled *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, which is a manual of the Stoic etymological interpretation of popular mythology. He describes various gods and goddesses of distinct geographical areas: Pan, Poseidon, Apollo, Dionysus,

and Hermes are thus enumerated, while Zeus and Pallas Athene are called *ἐπίσκοποι* of cities. They watched over, protected, and punished. The goddess Erato he placed in a separate category as *ἐπίσκοπος*, that is overseer, of dialectic debate, a rather difficult assignment.

Certain beings were considered to be part divine and part human and to them also functions of *ἐπίσκοποι* were ascribed. Thus, according to Hesiod, Argos was an *ἐπίσκοπος* endowed with four eyes, watching everything in all four directions. In one of his dramas (*Antigone* 217) Sophocles has *ἐπίσκοποι*, evidently demigods, watching over a corpse. In *Phoenissae* 932, Euripides has a dragon watching Dike as an *ἐπίσκοπος*. According to a notice in a papyrus of the second century B.C. (PPar 63 col IX 47), demons may assume the functions of *ἐπίσκοποι*. Plato (*Leg.* ii.762d) demands that the *νομοφύλακες* should be *ἐπίσκοποι* watching lest the laws be transgressed. In *Leg.* ix.872e he describes Righteousness as an *ἐπίσκοπος*. Plutarch in *De Solone* 19 writes that Solon instituted a council which was an *ἐπίσκοπον πάντων καὶ φύλακα τῶν νόμων* (overseer of all and protector of the laws). In Homer, *Odyssey* viii.163, captains of ships and merchants are spoken of as *ἐπίσκοποι* of merchandise. Plato (*Leg.* ii.784a) says that women should be *ἐπίσκοποι* over young married couples. He also says that the market officials should be *ἐπίσκοποι σωφροσύνης τε καὶ ὕβρεως*, overseers of good honor and honesty. Phidias is described in Plutarch, *Pericles* 13, as the *ἐπίσκοπος* of the Periclean building program. Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 740, speaks of the master of the house as the *ἐπίσκοπος δωμάτων*. In Homer, *Iliad* xxiv.729, Hector is described as the *ἐπίσκοπος*, meaning here "protector," of Troy. Homer also uses the word *ἐπίσκοπος* to mean "spy" (*Iliad* x.38 and 342) as does Sophocles in *Oedipus* 112. This meaning is not as strange as it may seem, for human over-seeing easily leads to spying out, seeking to ascertain that which is not immediately apparent.

Other words, too, were used with precisely the same meaning of "overseer" which *ἐπίσκοπος* possesses. An interesting

example is to be found in the *Jewish War* iv. 543, where it is written: "These persons received injunctions to say that Simon had sworn by God, πάντων ἑφορον (the overseer of all)." Philo, in several passages, puts ἑφορος and ἐπίσκοπος side by side as possessing parallel meaning. In *De Nobilitate* 5, ἡ ἑφορος καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ἀλήθεια (constitution full of vitality and life, the governor and overseer of which is truth) the two terms are used to express the same function, two words instead of one being employed in order to give greater emphasis. In commenting upon Exodus 28:1 Philo calls Eleazar and Ithamar ἐπίσκοποι and ἑφοροι (*Som.* ii. 186). In Philo's *De Migratione Abrahami* there are three passages in which the word ἐπίσκοπος is used. In chapter 24, while commenting upon Genesis 1:31, he writes: "Moses very beautifully has represented the father of the universe as being also the inspector (ἐπίσκοπος) of all that he has created." In chapter 15 there is the passage, "These thoughts are those of which God alone is responsible" (ὡν μόνος ὁ θεὸς ἐπίσκοπος). In another passage, ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ ταμιευμένων ἐπίσκοπος ἰδῶν, God is described as the inspector of all that is laid up in the recesses of the heart. Josephus, *Antiquities* x. 4. 1, uses ἐπίσκοπος in truly standard fashion: ἀπέδειξε δὲ τινὰς κριτὰς καὶ ἐπισκόπους, ὡς ἂν διοικοῖεν τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις πράγματα (He [Amos] appointed also judges and overseers to watch over every one and to administer justice and righteousness, even if in doing this their lives should be endangered).

A very interesting use of ἐπίσκοπος is to be found in Stobaeus who cites an apparently ancient authority in writing: "And further, my son, you must understand that the Decans are exempt from the things that befall the other stars. They are free and exalted above all things; and as careful guardians (φύλακες) and overseers (ἐπίσκοποι) of the universe, they go round it in the space of a night and day."

When we come to the definite or technical use of "overseer" we are confronted by a large number of appellations, all of them denoting at least similar and apparently even the same

functions. So far as I know no one has attempted a critical study of all these various titles.

One of our most valuable sources for the early technical use of the word *ἐπίσκοπος* is the comedy entitled *Birds*, by Aristophanes (lines 1022-1054), produced in Athens in the year 414 B.C. It presents the imaginary realm of Nephelococcygia or Cuckooland, which is visited by many people of different callings, including an *ἐπίσκοπος* from Athens, who comes as an inspector to offer his professional services to the rapidly growing and flourishing community. He stated that he had been legally elected by the bean (*κνάμψ*). He came with *τῷ κἀδῶ*, the two urns, and was thus equipped with the apparatus necessary for establishing judicial and political proceedings upon the Athenian model. The *ἐπίσκοπος* appears here both as an inspector and an organizer, and if one may judge from Aristophanes' caricature, he was not overly popular. He was an elective official who managed the comparatively simple machinery of government, complicated only because the parts were frequently changed. The *ἐπίσκοπος*, apparently, took no part himself in the exercise of legislative or judicial functions, but had the important duty of seeing that all the many offices of government were filled and in action. In 465 B.C. a new constitution was to be introduced in Erythrae (IG, I, 10, 11). Athens sent *ἐπίσκοποι* to set up a new council and to establish the new order. In Mytilene, in 427-426 B.C., we find *ἐπίσκοποι* established as permanent officials. Antiphon, an orator contemporary with Aristophanes, in his speech concerning the tribute of the Lindians, and, also in the one against Laispodion, says: "Those whom the Athenians send to subject cities to watch over affairs are called *ἐπίσκοποι* (inspectors, overseers) and *φύλακες* (keepers, protectors). These the Laconians call *ἄρμοσται* (governors)." But the *ἐπίσκοποι* do not appear to have been governors. They were officials with two specific duties: (1) as inspectors, to see that the agreement between Athens and the allied city state was lived up to; (2) as overseers, to see that the local constitu-

tion kept functioning. We are thus tempted to describe them, both in Athens and elsewhere, as propellers of democracy.

The other references to *ἐπίσκοποι* as government officials are scattered and do not yield conclusive information as to their exact function. Appian (48) states that King Mithridates II of Pontus appointed Philopecimon as *ἐπίσκοπον Ἐφεσίων*. Arrian (*Historia Indica* xii. 5) writes that *ἐπίσκοποι* in various parts of India constituted a sort of secret police. This would intimate that the earliest term used for detective was *ἐπίσκοπος*.

An Egyptian papyrus of the third century B.C. (PPetr III #36a verso 117) infers *δίκαιον δώσουσιν καὶ λήμψονται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων ἐπισκόπων οἷς ἂν ὁ διοικητὴς συντάσῃ* that the *ἐπίσκοποι* watched over justice. In the time of the Emperor Claudius, A.D. 41-54, the master of the Mint at Ephesus bore the title *ἐπίσκοπος*. A coin states that this office was being held by the same man for the fourth time. Elsewhere he is referred to as *ἀρχὼν ἢ γραμματεὺς*. It is of interest to note that both in the first century B.C. and in the first century A.D. the civil office of *ἐπίσκοπος* in Ephesus existed as one of importance.

Theologians have devoted by far the most attention to a consideration of *ἐπίσκοποι* as officials in communes and in societies, hoping to find points of contact between their position and that of the *ἐπίσκοποι* in the Church. But all that can be gleaned with any degree of certainty is that the office of *ἐπίσκοπος* was one of many offices, the functions of none of which can be exactly ascertained. After examining all of the titles and eliminating what the *ἐπίσκοπος* cannot be, one surmises that the *ἐπίσκοπος* was a custodian whose primary duty it was to see that the society functioned.

Two inscriptions from the island of Rhodes (IG, XII, 1, 49, 42; 50, 34), both of them from the second century B.C., contain lists of officials without indicating the organizations to which they belonged. One of them names five *ἐπίσκοποι*, the other gives the names of three.

A third inscription from Rhodes of about the same period (IG, XII, 1, 731) contains a list of officials, who, it would

seem, were officers of a society which took care of the temple of Apollo. There were three *ἐπιστάται* (presidents), one *γραμματεὺς ἱεροφυλάκων* (secretary of the temple guard), six *ιεροποιοὶ* (collectors of offerings), one *ταμίης* (treasurer), one *ὑπογραμματεὺς ἱεροφυλάκων*, and just one *ἐπίσκοπος*.

Edwin Hatch, fifty years ago, ascribed much importance to a second century B.C. inscription (IG, XII, 3, 329) from the island of Thera which contains the resolution, "It is resolved that the *ἐπίσκοποι* Dion and Meleippus shall accept the offer and invest the money." The reference is to an organization which had as its purpose the veneration of Anthister. The interest was to be used to defray the expenses of a festival.

Another inscription of the second century B.C. imposes upon the *ἐπίσκοπος* of a Delian society at Mykonos the responsibility of making all the arrangements for the promulgation of an honor. An inscription at Dolistovo, Dubnica County, Bulgaria, of uncertain date, but from Roman times, enumerates the officers of a temple society by name and includes an *Ἐπτάξενος ἐπίσκοπος*.

Various deductions have been made from numerous inscriptions, mainly from Syria, in which *ἐπίσκοποι* appear as inspectors in the service of architects and building contractors. However, none of these inscriptions is earlier than from the middle of the third century A.D. and therefore can hardly throw any light upon the meaning of the term when it was adopted by the Christian Church. Nevertheless, in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, in 2 Kings 12:11 and 2 Chronicles 34:12 and 17, *ἐπίσκοποι* are described as building inspectors who took charge of the money which had been collected for repairing the Temple and disbursed it to the artisans and laborers. Other passages in the Septuagint illustrate the diverse usage of the title and show that it was not understood to refer to any one particular office or occupation. In 1 Maccabees 1:51 the King of Syria appointed *ἐπίσκοποι* as viceregal overseers of Israel. In Judges 9:28

Abimelech appointed an ἐπίσκοπος to an office we would call that of a sheriff. In Numbers 31: 14 and in 2 Kings 11: 15 officers of the host are called ἐπίσκοποι τῆς δυνάμεως. In Nehemiah 11: 9, 14, 22 the term ἐπίσκοπος is applied to the overseers of the sons of Benjamin, of the priests, and of the Levites. In 2 Kings 11: 18, "the priests appointed ἐπίσκοποι (officers) over the house of Jehovah."

THE MIND'S ASCENT TO GOD

By MOTHER MARY MAUDE, C.S.M.,

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Among the ancient documents written for our learning there is a mystical treatise dating probably from the sixth century, known as *The Book of the Holy Hierotheos*. It embodies a neo-Platonic philosophy and the cosmogony of *The Celestial Hierarchy* of pseudo-Dionysius. It exists in the Syriac language, in which scholars are agreed that it was originally written, thus disallowing the claim in the author's preface that it was a translation from the Greek. This claim is considered to have been made in support of the fiction that the book was written by Hierotheos for Dionysius the Areopagite. The disputes of scholars concerning its authorship need not concern this paper, since the value of the treatise for the devout reader lies in its mystical teaching, whoever may have written it. It was potent in its influence for more than thirteen centuries and undoubtedly has a message for us today, provided that we can penetrate the unfamiliar symbolism and reach the kernel of its doctrine.

Very striking is the fact that the unknown author conceives of the main phases of the soul's ascent to God as they are described by mystical writers more familiar to us of today, such as St John of the Cross or St Teresa. He shows the soul experiencing two purgations, answering in general, if not in detail, to the dark nights of St John of the Cross. The severity of the second purification corresponds also to the 'great desolation' of Father Baker and other mystics who lay stress on the resurgence of passions and the agonizing struggles that are known to precede the final union of the soul with God.

The Book of the Holy Hierotheos is divided into five Discourses. The editor of the Book, and its translator into English,

says: "(It) falls naturally into three sections: (a) the First Discourse, which is cosmological; (b) the Second, Third and Fourth Discourses, the chief part of which is a kind of guide book to the way of the ascent, describing the regions through which individual Minds have passed before they reach the goal of complete absorption into the all-creating Goodness and the adventures which befall them on the way; (c) the Fifth Discourse, which is eschatological and reveals the final consummation of all things."¹

It must be noted that certain parts of this Book, principally in the Fifth Discourse, contain unorthodox teaching, following the doctrine attributed to Origen concerning universal salvation, even of the demons. There is also in more than one place an apparent minimising of the dignity of the Person of Christ. In a certain passage Hierotheos says: "for if the Father is greater than the Son, and the Son is the guide of those who ascend, then the Son is a 'Mansion' near the Father; and they who are going to the Father must pass beyond the Mansion." On the other hand, as will be seen, perfect conformity to and union with Christ is a culminating experience of the ascending Mind, in order that with Christ and in Christ it shall experience the final commingling with the Father, so that "God shall be all in all." It is in attempting to describe that final consummation that the author slips into error. However, the mystical teaching is, on the whole, sound, and is undoubtedly in conformity with the experience of the great mystics of all ages.

Before beginning the story of the ascending journey of the spiritual man as narrated by Hierotheos we may note his use of the word 'essence' to express orders and ranks of angels, demons and men. Concerning the angels he conceives of each essence as dependent upon the one that is higher than itself and as ministering to the one below it. He describes the essence of man as consisting of mind and soul and body. The Mind, written always by the translator with a capital letter, represents the

¹ *Book of the Holy Hierotheos*. Edited and translated by F. S. Marsh, M.A. Williams and Norgate, London, 1927, p. 204. The quotations attributed to Hierotheos are taken from this volume.

spiritual element in man, to which soul and body are accessory. This capital letter is retained in order to emphasize the personality of the human being who ascends. At the outset the author gives some explanation of the various 'motions' of which the Mind is capable. There is a development altogether natural, and there is a motion 'outside nature' by Minds which have acquired a start towards evil. There is a motion 'beyond nature,' altogether evil and proper to demons; and there is a motion 'above nature,' which appears to be what we would term the supernatural way of grace.

When the Mind begins its ascent it has to encounter three essences of demons. These are shown to occupy the whole space from the earth to the heavens, which is divided into three portions, over each of which one essence of demons has authority. "The first essence rules all the space from the earth up to the clouds, and the second maintains its sway and its authority in all the space from the clouds up to the sun; and the third from the sun up to the firmament." The most malignant of the demons are nearest the earth, and as the Mind rises it finds the struggle with those in the higher regions to be less severe. This initial contest undoubtedly answers to the purgation which awaits all who begin to lead an interior life. The severity of the battle is greater with some than with others. Hierotheos says: "I have seen many of the Minds against whom this battle was not stirred up, and others suffered very sorely."

"When the Mind has been accounted worthy to ascend above the firmament, it then becomes as a babe that has just been born, that has just arrived out of darkness into light." This is a period of illumination. The Mind having arrived at this first 'Mansion,' "supposes concerning those Angels that dwell there that they are those who have reached the fulfilment of perfect contemplation." It yields itself to the communications offered it by the hierarchy of this Mansion. It receives a glorious laying-on of hands and is made partaker of a mystical Eucharist. It makes great progress and is led to the entrance of the next Mansion. Here it sees "a clear and dazzling splendour, and

light pure and divine; and it wonders greatly at the radiance of the second Mansion " just as it had wondered at the vision of the first and had thought itself to have reached its goal. The Mind assimilates the doctrine of that Mansion and is forthwith led to the entrance of another; for there are many Mansions, as our Lord taught in His last discourse, and every one more glorious and radiant than the last. As each flashing vision of radiance is perceived by the Mind, it " labours mightily with great eagerness to stretch out to it and to be with it." At last the Mind, having passed through a multitude of heavenly places, comes to what is called the Place of Discernment, and " finds therein a pleasant and refreshing calm, so that it forgets its weariness and all its toil; and divinely and holily, it delights in that delightful and gladdening delight; and so, I suppose, it spends some time in the Place of Discernment. And then it begins eagerly and mightily to travel the way of its Mansion . . . since it knows as one who has received mystic initiation, that its way is prepared unto the Lord."

| This way is a way of suffering for the Mind, that it may be purified from its sins. It sees before it " three wonderful and divine and mystic Crosses of marvel." The object of this crucifixion is complete conformity to Christ. The three crosses are for the threefold nature of man. " Three are crucified, but not three live again." Christ, and with Him, Titus, lived again, but the robber on the left hand was destroyed. This symbolism of the crucifixion is worked out in great detail, and Hierotheos tells us further that some Minds undergo repeated crucifixion and adds " many I have seen, who through the whole time of human life, never escaped from the cross, and only achieved this after leaving the body."

The Mind which is to progress further is, after crucifixion, taken down from the cross and suffers burial. Then follows the mystery of the Resurrection. The Mind puts on its soul and body, and henceforth has dominion over them. It rejoices in its present glorious state and its deliverance from hardships. The

light of the sun seems "to be in no respect superior in comparison with its own exceeding light."

And now comes the supreme adventure and the final and terrible purification. The remnant of evil left within itself "springs up powerfully and fiercely, and becomes a great and mighty Tree." It appears "as a thing of darkness, whose fruits are foul and its leaves hideous." The Mind begins to make a second struggle with the Tree of passions. It hews down the branches and "gives its fruits to the fire and its leaves to burning." Again and again the Evil springs up and grows, again and again to be hewed down, until the Mind comes to see that the evil Tree has roots firmly planted, and to know that "the Evil cannot be destroyed so long as it has a root, and that it is impossible to uproot the root, unless one goes down to the place thereof." And so "the divine Mind begins the journey back, and leaves the bright way that leads up, divinely and highly, to the Essential and Primal Good, but these things it does with great pain and tears." Down, down it goes, along the way by which it ascended. It passes beneath the earth into the abode of demons that attack it mightily. It would altogether perish, did not Christ, the Great Mind, come to the rescue. He "will take hold of the hand of that Mind, and, highly and divinely, will draw it up from those depths that are below the earth; and it will then become like a dead man that has come to life, and as a buried man that is raised up." The Mind "will then begin with joy to take its former way and to ascend to the place of the heavens; and then it rests in peace in its place."

After all this has been brought to pass, the Mind becomes fruitful and creative. It undergoes a second baptism by fire and the Holy Ghost, and "it sees again the Holy Spirit coming upon it in the bodily likeness of a dove; and now it has nothing at all to prevent it becoming in everything like Christ." This being accomplished, the Mind is accounted worthy to receive the Eucharist and to give it. "The Mind approaches divinely the spiritual Altar, and sacrifices itself, holily and divinely, in most wonderful and ineffable mystery . . . and the Mind that has become Christ, bestows upon them, purely and holily, the glorious Mysteries that

have been consecrated by it." The Mind in this state receives the revelation of secret mysteries beyond the power of human utterance. Concerning these silence is strictly enjoined.

It would seem as if the destruction of the Tree of evil must have completed the purifying and testing of the ascending Mind; but even though no trace of evil now remains within it, there is yet a further trial to be safely undergone, and a further vision to be attained, whereby it may enter Paradise and taste of the Tree of Life. This Tree of Life is said to be "the fulfilment of vision and the end of mysteries." But Satan "knows these things, and displays himself to the divine Mind in the sign of the Tree of Life." Hierotheos adds, "I marvel very greatly and wonder at the way in which he transforms his evil into good and conceals his foulness with beauty, and even his darkness with glorious light."

Not in its own power, but again through the intervention of Christ, the Mind is delivered, and "divinely drawn up, in love, to arrive at the Tree of Life." Hereafter "faith will be based no longer on appearance but on (immediate) knowledge, no longer on mystery, but on reality." The Mind is one with Christ and what may be said of Him is likewise attributed to it, whether it be knowledge of mysteries, or a share in the cosmic war with the rebel bands of demons.

The final account by Hierotheos of the Mind's adventures and of its ultimate commingling with the Supreme Good is not easy to follow, and, as has been remarked, is not altogether orthodox. However, it is apparent that he intends to sum up his teaching in the words of St Paul, that at the end "shall the Son himself also be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all."

In reviewing this story of the Mind's ascent to God as told by Hierotheos, it is clearly evident that it contains all the essential and characteristic stages of the mystical way as described by the great seers of all ages.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SIN AND
SALVATION

PART III. WORSHIP

By EVELYN UNDERHILL

Definition of Terms. Worship is that total response of the creature to the Creator, for which man was made: the only true relation in which he can stand to God. It is the complete fulfilment of the First Commandment, and, understood in its full significance, expresses the whole meaning of life. Thus, in so far as we can teach men, in this genuine sense, to worship, to dwell with awestruck delight on the holy Reality of God, and offer themselves to Him, we place them in the most favourable situation of all for the receiving of the saving power of Christianity. The essence of this saving power abides in the application of the creative love of God to the needs and sins of man; redeeming, quickening and transforming his enfeebled will and selfish desires by the action of grace, organizing him, and evoking from him a return current of active and disinterested love. On natural and supernatural levels, life only achieves reality in so far as it is centered on God and harmonizes with the character of God. And since it is through—though not always in—His worship, that this character is revealed to man, because here he acknowledges the supremacy of God, and is opened to and preoccupied with Him—so here forces operate which make for the purifying and harmonizing of his life, and here he is accessible to the divine attracting and transforming power. If then we regard Sin as primarily a wrong relation with God, a deformation of the will, an evasion of His call, and Salvation as the restoring of a right relation with God, a reformation of the will, a response to the call, we have in Worship a capital means of establishing that right relation, and subduing man to that reforming and enabling power.

Having said this, we must at once add that worship which is entered upon for this or any other self-interested reason defeats its own end. It is true that corporate worship, rightly orientated and balanced, can become a powerful instrument for awakening, teaching and transforming men; and also true that every act of worship, public or secret, is both expressive and impressive, and leaves the self other than it was before. But this subjective benefit of the worshipper must never be an aim; even where the benefit is sought for the loftiest reasons, and is of the most spiritual kind. The single aim of worship is God's Glory; the consecration of all life by dedicating it to His service and surrendering it to the operation of His Will. "Here we offer and present to thee ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and living sacrifice." It is upon this humble and costly self-offering and not upon the improvement of his own position, the stimulation of his own religious feelings, or the saving of his own soul that the will and intention of the true worshipper is bent; because his animating motive is not self interest but awestruck and admiring love. At its height, such worship means the creature's adoring response to God's total demand, and its utmost contribution to His Glory. It is incompatible with the man-centred utilitarian religion which is often mistaken for Christianity.

This is the attitude which unselfs man, neutralizes egotism, restores his sense of proportion, and tunes him in to the supernatural: and the aim of that discipline which trains him to worship should be the nurturing of such a state of soul. Though penitence must be, for sinful creatures, an essential character of all true worship, its dominant theme is not *Miserere* but *Alleluia*. The humility it requires is the humility of self-forgetfulness, which unites us to the worship of heaven. So the ancient Cherubic hymn:

"Let us, who mystically represent the Cherubim and sing
the thrice holy hymn to the life-giving Trinity, now lay aside
all earthly cares;

That we may receive the King of all things, who comes escorted
by unseen armies of angels:

Alleluia! alleluia! alleluia!"

How deeply refreshing and purifying to the soul is this self-mergence in the universal stream of worshipping love, where the values of purity, abnegation and discipline are associated with adoration and joy. It is the business of ordered worship on one hand to train humanity for this supreme action, and on the other to give it an artistic and concrete embodiment; thus sanctifying by intention all the interests and activities of man's life. Such a hallowing of life by directing it to God, turning it into worship, is found on analysis to be the same thing as salvation; for then, says William Law, "everything thou doest is as a song of praise, or the common business of thy life is a conforming to God's Will on earth, as angels do in heaven."

Christian Worship. We can only agree that Christian worship is a vehicle of the saving divine power, in so far as we acknowledge that the essence of Salvation is the gift of Eternal Life: not merely of natural or even ethical well-being as such. It is something which comes from beyond the world first to rescue and then to transform humanity, and make men what they were intended to be—"partakers of the Divine Nature." The life of sacrificial love which it sets forth under symbols is the supreme life, not merely because men need love, but because God is love. Christian worship might indeed be defined as dramatized charity. Its theme is God's prevenient love and man's responsive and dependent love. Its charter is I John iv. 19. Thus genuine Christian worship depends on and expresses Christian theology; and in so doing it offers us access to God and shows us what is our relation to God. It is the great means of teaching, both directly and by suggestion, the nature of God and man and the Plan of Redemption, as the occasion of its thanksgiving and adoration. It sets before man the vision of the Perfect, and brings him to the confession of his sin, inadequacy and helplessness over against the Perfect. More than this, at its fullest depth and range, it lifts him right out of his selfish preoccupation; and catches him into the great current of self-offering and consecration which—supremely declared in the Incarnation—is the law of the spiritual world. Thus it makes him not merely a beneficiary but a partner

in the work of creative love; and thus brings him into that realistic communion with God which is eternal life. Its character is therefore dynamic, creative and bracing, rather than consoling. It is not an opiate, but a declaration of our call and our possibilities; announcing and mediating the action of God, but also demanding the action of man.

Since Christianity is a thoroughly historical religion, it follows that its worship is and must be historically conditioned; and that ill-considered attempts to cut ourselves free from our past are more likely to result in impoverishment than in renovation. The general characters of that worship are, of course, directly traceable to the Judaism out of which it arose, and especially to the two great spiritual forces developed within Judaism—Sacrifice and Prophecy. From these descend the "sacramental" and the "evangelical" types of Christian worship. Though the working of history has unfortunately tended to place these two great forms of religious expression over against one another, and identified them with the Catholic and Protestant outlooks, they are, of course, complementary. There is no doubt that the full ideal of Christian worship, orientating towards God all aspects of human nature—soul and body, mind, feeling and will—, requires both; and that in the first creative period of the Church no more opposition was felt between them than between the Temple and the Synagogue Worship from which they arose. For the purposes of the present enquiry, however, it seems better to consider them separately.

A. It will hardly be denied that where its rightful balance and rhythm are preserved Eucharistic worship does represent what was from the first the distinctive corporate act of Christian devotion; with its rich suggestions and meanings, its transcendental and social implications, its remembrance of the Cross and declaration of the saving presence of Jesus, its demand on the self-offering of the worshipper, and gift of heavenly food. Round this sacred action more and more religious values have gradually clustered; and through this a direct appeal is made alike to sense and spirit, in terms which the most simple can appreciate and yet

which the greatest philosopher cannot exhaust. Though historically conditioned creatures cannot lightly regard the claims of tradition, here we are concerned with something yet more fundamental than tradition; however venerable may be—indeed are—the historic credentials of Eucharistic worship. We are concerned with a method of embodying and expressing spiritual realities in and through sensible signs, which is peculiarly adapted to the needs and capacities of the human creature, himself a spirit held tight in a sense-conditioned world; and is moreover particularly congenial to an incarnational religion, which declares God revealed to man in and through earthly and visible things.

If formal corporate worship is to achieve its aim, two contacts are needed: one as towards God, the other as towards men. On the manward side, the act or method of worship must be such that all can take part in it, live in it, do it; and not merely be spectators of it. This is the acid test of ceremonial worship, and here it too often fails. On the Godward side, its reach and its suggestion must exceed man, and thrust out into the supernatural. It must never lose the "taste of the Infinite"—the awe-struck sense of a transcendent yet personal Reality. Much "simple worship" fails here. On the whole, and in spite of certain obvious dangers attached to it, sacramental and especially Eucharistic worship seems best to satisfy these requirements. In the "holy spotless immortal life-giving Mysteries of Christ" the visible and invisible, natural and supernatural, personal and corporate aspects of religion are brought together or expressed in a way that meets the needs of our mixed human nature; because, uniting and giving expression to the average religious instincts, they also embody the deepest spiritual truths. Moreover, the Eucharist does what it declares. It really offers a real oblation: it really associates the worship of earth with that of heaven. It really consecrates the bread and wine offered, and in them really gives the worshipper the Food of Eternal Life. So that here from beginning to end we are concerned not only with statement but with action, not only with symbols but with realities. All the ancient liturgies are full of the idea that something positive is accomplished in Eucha-

ristic worship. The soul is brought near to actual sources of salvation, it does something and something is done to it. Man offers under tokens himself and his life and goods; is hallowed and lifted up with them, and fed with the life of Christ.

All this is implicit in the service; but too often it is slurred by our manner of presentation. We seem to need a fresh emphasis on what is done, which shall bring out the organic relation or meaning of the great sequence of acts which compose the liturgy; and which shall knit the congregation together in a single concerted movement of self-offering, praise and consecration. Moreover in this sequence of acts, closely associated as they are with our Lord's life and passion, and leading up to His self-giving under humble sensible signs, the Christian ideal at its highest is put again and again before the heart and mind; and binds men together in loving recognition of God's claim and enabling power. "In the Eucharist," says Huvelin, "Christ eternalizes the act of sacrifice, the act in which He has loved us most. The contemplation of this divine self-giving humbles, purifies and enlightens man."

It is to be noted that such Eucharistic worship has been, again and again, a determining factor in the development of the saints, and not only those of Roman Catholic obedience. It means or should mean for every soul taking part in it penitence, self-offering, affirmation, intercession, adoration, communion and enhancement of life; and all these great spiritual realities experienced as a member of the Church, a close-knit corporation of dedicated and believing men expressing by symbolic deeds and words their response to God. Thus the Eucharist sums up and reiterates the very course and content of salvation; not as a doctrine, but as an action involving body, soul, spirit, and affecting the whole man. Such worship is both social and personal. It requires the love and prayer of every soul taking part and brings each one into a fresh and real relation with God which overflows to affect the active life and is expressed in deeds of service. The faithful communicant is sanctified, attuned to God, as the culmination of a series of concrete acts driving home the great historical and spir-

itual truths which the Eucharist shows forth. Yet he comes, not merely as an individual, but as part of a sacrificial society, the Body of Christ, self-offered for the saving purposes of God: and it is by this self-loss in the life of the body that his own life receives new meaning and power.

The question here then is, how best to use this priceless spiritual material so that its full energy shall be available for the Glory of God and transformation of men. Obviously the starting point will be the giving of right teaching about the Eucharist and its celebration, in such a way as to emphasize its organic aspect. Here the Liturgic Mission, which has come into existence during recent years, offers a valuable method of approach: linking evangelism with worship, and stressing the truth that the Christian Eucharist is not merely a devotion for the fervent but a great social-spiritual act, in which—though God is the real doer of all that is done—all have a part to play in the one action of the Living Church; and that this action has a cosmic significance and avails, not merely for the devout persons taking part in it, but for the whole world. In order that this may be driven home, it is essential that the ceremonial, music, etc., should be really congregational, and not such as requires professional performance. Where the congregation becomes an audience, little spiritual work is done and little power is given; for expression-work is essential to the awakening and development of the religious sense.

The Parish Eucharist, with simple music which all are expected to sing, and culminating in the general communion of the people, seems best to meet modern requirements here. An introit psalm, and another in its ancient place before the Gospel, will stress that Biblical character of the liturgy which is often lost. Some ceremonial emphasis should be laid upon the Offertory, as one of the great moments of the service; representing the self-offering of the Christian with all he has, in union with Christ under the symbols of bread and wine. Some offering should be made by every person present, as an essential part of every Eucharist. At the intercession, the particular needs of the parish, and of individuals desiring prayers should be brought before God, thus giving ex-

pression to the homely and intimate side of Christian worship. All this leads up to the great central act of worship in the Sanctus and Consecration, and is completed by Communion. This is a type of corporate worship which, as experience proves, can be made both attractive and deeply impressive to all taking part in it. It opens paths of discharge for reverence, love and wonder, and is a real vehicle of spiritual power. Here we worship as members of the family, the Household of Faith, and share the family duties and privileges; taking part in an act of worship which involves the consecration and hallowing of the whole of life, bringing it to the altar and thus giving dignity and meaning to all secular as well as religious activities. But careful teaching is essential if this result is to be obtained and the full saving power of Christianity experienced.

B. Thus described, Eucharistic worship seems to demonstrate its superiority. Nevertheless it is exposed to certain spiritual dangers, of which perhaps the worst are those of formalism and of monotony: and, regarded as an instrument of evangelism, always needs to be supported by adequate teaching. Here the prophetic strand in Christian worship enters as a most necessary corrective; the ever fresh declaration of God's Being and God's Word, the spontaneous expression of faith, the ethical demand and ethical response. The Standard and the Model are set before the mind, and reinterpreted in the context of modern life; and thus the sluggish will is stirred to that effort which is an essential condition of the full working of grace in the soul. Hence the mixture of Scripture-reading, preaching, prayer and song, which is ultimately derived from Synagogue worship, and constitutes the usual Sunday service of the Protestant Churches—though it may easily lose all spiritual quality and regarded as a complete act of worship leaves many vital factors unexpressed—has great religious value. It can unite all those who take part in it, tune them in to the Supernatural, and produce in them a state of religious receptivity. The docile and attentive listening to the Word, though not strictly speaking an act of worship, does yet entail a corporate waiting upon God, a concentration upon spiritual reali-

ties, in which the powerful force of group-suggestion reinforces the religious appeal, breaking down barriers and making all taking part in it of one heart and mind.

Preaching, says Will, "not only brings the congregation into the presence of God but gives it, together with the sense of religious solemnity, that of Christian solidarity . . . each member of the congregation who opens his heart to the revelation, will perceive his neighbour's faith inflamed along with his own. The fire on each separate hearth will unite with all the others; till like a single flame upon an invisible altar, all this sacred ardour rises to God in one collective prayer." Plainly, where preaching is thus considered and rises to this prophetic height, it can and does become a real disclosure of the Supernatural, a stimulus to religious fervour and a genuine vehicle of saving power: yet only in so far as it points beyond itself, driving home those great spiritual lessons and demands which are implicit in sacramental worship, relating them to everyday life, and leading the congregation on to self-oblation and praise. Its achievement of this is at least partly dependent on the spiritual capacity of the preacher, through whom God's Word is given. Only so far as he is himself a loving spirit, whose life is based on communion with God, can he hope to set other spirits on fire.

Sacramental and liturgical worship is, on the contrary, comparatively independent of this personal factor. In it the voice of the Church, the Spirit-filled Body, speaks. It is her action, the offering of her sacrifice, prayer and adoration, exceeding while it embraces the separate action of all the individuals taking part. This is the chief reason why the prophetic strand in institutional worship can never be sufficient alone. A further reason is that, whilst it makes a direct appeal to the mind, will and heart, it leaves little for the senses to do. Expression-work is practically confined to the hymn singing which is usually strongly developed in connection with this type of religious practice. This falls short of the full requirements and possibilities of an incarnational religion, which proclaims God self-given in and through sensible things; and by including soul and body, spirit and sense—sight,

taste, touch, movement—in our response to Him, unites, sanctifies and energizes for His Service the whole man. "Two tables," says Thomas à Kempis, "are set on either side in the spiritual treasury of Holy Church. One is the table of the holy altar . . . the other is the table of the laws of God containing the holy doctrine, instructing man in the right faith, and leading him into the inward secrecies which are called *Sancta Sanctorum*." Both are necessary; each, rightly used, enriches and interprets the other; through each God's grace and power are poured out, and through each, man can respond in loving worship. The Church's problem then is how best to use these two great supernatural instruments for the glory of God and the redeeming of human life.

Other Practical Points. It must not be forgotten that the parish church is itself a religious instrument of great importance. Its existence witnesses to worship, and is indeed an act of worship; for it means God and nothing else. It is a place dedicated to the Supernatural; a little enclave in which we can or should find

The silence of eternity
Interpreted by love.

Here the personal life of communion with God can be learnt and deepened, and the strengthening and pacifying power of Christianity experienced. Every parish priest has a great responsibility in respect of his church. It should be a spiritual home, always open, where everything is done to create a favourable atmosphere for communion with God; and here the chief factor will be the attitude and practice of the priest. If the clergy make a habit of praying in their own churches, the people will learn to do the same. The increasing noise and pressure and the diminishing privacy of modern life make such places of refuge of great importance for the life of the spirit and development of the spirit of worship. For the same reason, the revived practice of Retreats and Quiet Days, cutting off for a time all sources of distraction, concentrating mind and will upon a period of uninterrupted communion with God, and giving opportunity for intensive training in prayer, are of great value in the deepening of the spiritual life

and teaching worship. The deep corporate silence, which is the outstanding feature of a good Retreat, together with the sense that here at any rate God's call and attraction take precedence of everything else, constitute an effective devotional technique which brings many souls to an entirely new realization of His presence and power. The Church has here a method of which as yet she has hardly realised the full possibilities, which can be adapted to all types of soul and stages of development, and appears to be peculiarly suited to the times in which we live.

Next, the invitation to worship—if it is to transform man in his wholeness and bring him into communion with God—must be addressed to every level and aspect of his nature. We need not, then, be afraid of its popular and spontaneous expression: or even of those outbursts of revivalistic worship which have proved under appropriate conditions their life-changing power. We must be willing to translate our hunger for God into terms of homely or romantic emotion, and to make a considerable use of pictorial, dramatic and poetic material—not always of the best quality—in our efforts to bridge the gap between the unseen and the seen. It is true that the simple and childlike, released from the critical action of the mind, may quickly degenerate into the silly. But this is no argument for an arrogant rejection of all those images of Christian truth and love—the Crib, the Mother and Child, the Saviour, the Cross—and all those devotions centred on the humanity of Christ, which have proved their attractive and transforming power. It only means that, whilst avoiding the vice of fastidious piety and humbly accepting our creaturely status, we must take at least as much trouble to maintain the standards of good taste and common-sense in the Church as we do in the home.

Finally, on its subjective side, which is here our special concern, the ultimate test of worship must be its fruits—in other words, its overflow into everyday life, and specially its effect upon character. If it has really brought man into God's presence, and mediated to him the divine saving power, the result must be humbling, purifying and strengthening. It will mean a genuine

increase in the dynamic virtues of faith, hope and charity, transvaluating all human values: and expressed, not only in the adoring ascent of the mind and heart to God, but also in an ever-widening love and interest extended to the world, an effort to co-operate in some way and degree in that redeeming work which is declared in the central act of Christian worship.

Conclusion. The traditional worship of the Church has developed under historical pressure as the vehicle of imperishable spiritual truths; and as such, has a priceless value. Nevertheless a certain readjustment to changing conditions, and the constant influx of fresh ideas and enthusiasms are needed as a defence against formalism and stagnation. As in other great human arts, here there will always be a certain tension between stability and novelty; and spiritual health and effectiveness depend on striking the right balance between them. Fresh approaches to God and fresh disclosures of the Spirit are to be expected and welcomed. Nevertheless our modern anxiety to press forward and our illusory sense of separation from the past, make us unduly inclined to neglect in religion the lessons of history, and treat the spiritual discoveries of our predecessors with less respect than they deserve. In the attempt to meet "modern needs" the unchanging character of supernatural truth is often forgotten; and the transcendental note, the absolute demand inseparable from real worship are lost. Here liturgy, rightly used and interpreted, has an irreplaceable office as a means of conserving, representing and making operative the mighty realities of faith. Even where it seems to its hurried critics to be stiff, archaic and lifeless, they will find a determined effort to make these dry bones live better than the attempt to make a new body without bones. This means patient, expert and persuasive teaching on the spiritual realities which our forms of worship express, including both its social and its personal implications, and together with this the training of individual souls in the life of discipline and prayer; for only where the congregation contains at least a proportion of mature men and women of the Spirit, will corporate worship develop its full possibilities as a vehicle of saving power.

Points for Discussion

(1) Christian redemption, says William Law, "on the one side is the heavenly divine life offering itself again to the inward man that had lost it. On the other side, it is the hope, the faith, the desire of this inward man, hungering and thirsting, stretching after and calling upon this divine and heavenly life."

In what way can Christian worship best give expression to this truth?

(2) Discuss the theology of sacrifice as expressed in the Eucharist and its value as a vehicle of the saving power of God.

(3) What should be the relation between the sacramental and prophetic elements in institutional religion? Are attempts to combine these in a single service advisable, or should they be kept distinct?

(4) Where the emphasis is on Eucharistic worship, how can the need for an intimate and popular type of corporate devotion best be met? Should the Mission Service be retained and developed? Or can any of the non-liturgic experiments of the historic Churches—e.g. the Roman Catholic devotions centred on the reserved Sacrament (Benediction and the Forty Hours) or on the Passion (Stations of the Cross) or the homely Russian services of praise and intercession called *molyben*, be adapted to our parochial life?

(5) In what way can worship be an instrument of evangelism towards those still outside the influence of the Church?

(6) The stylized worship of the Churches only has reality in so far as it represents the true relation of all life to God. How can we make this great truth operative for the transformation in Christ of our whole economic, social, intellectual and personal activities?

Recommended Books

- Y. Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice*
 F. Cabrol, *Liturgical Prayer*
 F. Converse, *The House of Prayer*
 W. H. Frere, *The Anaphora*
 R. Guardini, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*
 G. Hebert, *Liturgy and Society*
 G. Hebert, Ed., *The Parish Eucharist*
 F. Heiler, *The Spirit of Worship*
 F. C. Hicks, *The Fulness of Sacrifice*
 E. O. James, *Christian Myth and Ritual*
 William Law, *The Spirit of Prayer*
 E. R. Micklem, *Our Approach to God*
 Michael Ramsay, *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*
 W. Temple, *Nature, Man and God*
 E. Underhill, *Worship*
 F. Von Hugel, *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion* (two vols.)
 R. Will, *Le Culte*

Members of the Church Congress may borrow these books, one a month, from the Church Congress Library, 12 West Eleventh Street, New York.

BOOK REVIEWS

True Humanism. By Jacques Maritain. Scribner, 1938, pp. xvii + 304. \$3.50.

This is by no means an easy book. Even for those who are familiar with the ordinary shelf of volumes on Christian Sociology, this, and the companionate writings of Maritain, can offer a free field for intellectual toiling. A whole new vocabulary springs into view—"integral humanism," "pluralist commonweal," "maximum organic unity," a defining of mediæval Christianity's attitude toward the temporal order as "consecrational" as contrasted with the author's own attitude as "secular Christian." In addition to accustoming himself to a fresh terminology, the reader is also presumed to be familiar with the Thomistic philosophy in the categories of which Maritain largely expresses himself. The book is a storehouse of quotation and bibliographical reference in the field of contemporary social philosophy. A whole exposition and critique of Karl Marx is contained in the footnotes alone, giving evidence of wide research, particularly in French writers unfamiliar to English readers. The book can be compared with Berdyaev's *End of Our Time* as offering a provocative judgment on our contemporary world from the point of view of Catholic Christianity.

Yet the difficulties of this book should not frighten us off. It is richly rewarding. The school of thought which Maritain represents will undoubtedly be much in the mouths of men in the years ahead. Some of Maritain's own earlier volumes—particularly *Freedom in the Modern World*—help to interpret this one. The name which the school is adopting is that of "Personalism"—a name largely self-explanatory. Mounier's *A Personalist Manifesto* (Longmans, \$2.50) is a recent exposition of this same approach to Christian social philosophy.

For here is no desiccated mediæval scholasticism. Maritain deals frankly with Saint Thomas himself, and is realistically prepared to shelve the social philosophies of the Middle Ages. The future is envisaged as a wholly new day. Maritain's own prophecies of what the coming generations may witness, and the rôle which the Christian citizen may have to play (including a quite possible martyrdom) are a far cry from mere academic historicism.

Much of the central argument of the book stands or falls with its theological presuppositions. These will undoubtedly be questioned. Maritain deals fairly gently in this volume with Protestantism, but he leaves no doubt in the reader's mind as to his fundamental divergence. Barthian transcendentalism and anthropological pessimism comes in for plain rebuke. Protestantism is nearly clapped under the phrase, "Grace without freedom." Contemporary humanism, he terms "Freedom without grace." Catholic humanism, Maritain feels, is capable of mediating between the two. The reader should be warned that in the Thomistic presuppositions of the argument pitfalls lurk. The problem of Nature and Grace (Maritain never quite faces it openly) is a large

one, and has become surprisingly contemporary. Even Barth and Brunner, in the Protestant camp, can quarrel intramurally about it. And both would accuse Maritain's Thomism of ignoring the full meaning of the Fall and of original sin. To envisage a Christian humanism would seem to them as at best flirting dangerously with "the world." Indeed, there is bold compromise in Maritain—compromise with war, with Fascism, with Communism, with secularisms of various kinds. His very phrase "secular Christianity" is startlingly bold in accepting at least an apparent resolving of tensions between Nature and Grace.

I myself have been conscious, in reading the book, of reservations. The easy way in which Thomism can deal with the problem of Nature and Supernature always leaves me uncomfortable—as does, of course, the similarly easy way in which the Roman Church signs concordats. Our creaturely reason and our secular virtues may not be as exempt from original sin as much Roman theology has it. I prefer Newman's description of man's rational nature as "the wild living intellect of man."

But a hint at reservations is enough by way of warning. Maritain's book is not an apology for the statesmanship of the Roman curia. His bold wrestling with the problem of a Christian humanism does come as a welcome attempt to refuse mere transcendental escape. His social passion is exhilarating. He walks fearlessly into the lion's den of the secular problems of our day—economics, politics, war—and refuses to hand over these areas to merely secular forces. He deals gently with devotional Christianity, but does not hesitate to call even it to face the modern world. "It is vain (p. 87) to assert the dignity and vocation of human personality if we do not strive to transform the conditions that oppress these; strive to deal so that men can live worthily and gain their bread in honor."

One of the surprises awaiting the reader in this book is the author's profound sympathy with Communism—or, more accurately, with the smothered and crucified elements of the Christian gospel in the socialistic ferment of our time. Here is no glib Fascist Catholic! He is forced, to be sure, to make excuses for the Church in Italy and he does not even mention Spain. These instances of the Church's compromise with secularism must prove embarrassing even to his "secular Christianity." Fascism is for him, as for some other observers, still on the whole a half-way house between capitalism and some sort of socialist uprising. The new world of tomorrow—even the new Christendom—is coming to birth in the upsurging self-consciousness of the toilers of the earth. Detached from its errors, this socialistic revolution signifies (p. 227) "a recognition of an offended and humiliated human dignity, the ascension toward liberty and personality, taken in their inner reality and their social expression, of a community of persons, of the community which is at once nearest to the material bases of human life and the most sacrificed." Of the working class he speaks almost in the messianic tones of Karl Marx: "One may speak of their historic mission, may hold that the destiny of humanity depends largely, in actual fact, on their attitude and action."

This sympathy for the workers does not mean for a moment, of course, that Maritain accepts the Marxian or other socialist solution. The book is one long

argument against Karl Marx. Maritain is at his best in laying bare in detail the root error of the Marxian philosophy—its atheism and its utterly mistaken view of man and his destiny.

The closing sections of the book are boldly practical. Maritain answers with surprising candor the question: "What am I as a Christian to do here and now?" Maritain offers various concrete hints, guarding himself against being out of date tomorrow. In politics, for example, he pleads, if it be not too late, for the formation, in still democratic countries, of a party of the center, prepared for great changes in the capitalistic order, yet vowed to preserve Christian freedom. He draws a valuable distinction between a Christian's action as a *Christian*, and his action as a *Christian as such*. The latter is action by the Church, and in it all Catholics should unite as one. In the former they should welcome divergence, even to the point of fighting (under conscience) for opposed programs.

T. O. WEDEL

Tudor Puritanism: a Chapter in the History of Idealism. By M. M. Knappen. University of Chicago Press, 1939, pp. xii + 555. \$4.00.

Too frequently Anglican students of the English reformation have been content to dismiss the Puritans as narrow-minded and stubborn, if not indeed hypocritical bigots, haters of all joy and geniality; or to deal with them, since the unpleasant encounter can not be altogether avoided, as a set of fanatics obsessed with legalistic biblicism to which the appeal to history and tradition seemed as heresy, zealots striking at the laudable customs of the Church, who if they had had their way would have reformed *Ecclesia Anglicana* out of all recognition. Even at this distance and after all the patient and objective research that has been devoted to the subject, it is difficult to discuss Puritanism without prejudice. How often Calvin is blamed for things that really belong to medieval Catholic piety! And how often the Puritan pictured for us is a caricature of the real Puritan!

In the sixteenth century the line between Puritanism and Anglicanism was not as sharply drawn as later, and more than one individual passed to and fro across it. Many an Elizabethan bishop was Puritan or almost Puritan at heart, and many a Tudor Puritan might have worn lawn sleeves if he had had less conscience. Hooker's sweet reasonableness exposed the weakness of the Puritan positions with respect to ceremonies, vestments, Church organization, and so on. But there were other positions of the party, dangerous to vested interests, indeed, yet altogether admirable and in no sense destructive of the historic Church: its hostility to such feudal survivals as patronage, pluralities, and lay impropriation; its insistence upon a godly preaching and teaching ministry (Knappen maintains that Elizabeth had deep distrust of a learned clergy); its resistance to Erastianism and all its works.

Dr Knappen is concerned to present the constructive and idealistic side of Puritanism, precisely the aspects upon which the conventional Anglican treatments of the theme are weakest. The first and much the longer part of his book is a thoroughly documented history of the movement, from 1524, when Tyndale fled to the continent, through its several phases and manifestations

down to the Hampton Court Conference of 1604. Particular attention is paid to motivation and techniques—Puritan ideology and propaganda. The second part is an attempt to construct an authentic picture of the Puritan mind, drawing heavily upon the literature of the time.

While he frankly acknowledges the shortcomings of the movement—its static character, the limitations imposed by its biblicism, its contentiousness, its indifference to aesthetic values, and the like—Prof. Knappen points out several undoubted elements of strength. Puritanism was supra-national while Tudor Anglicanism was insular; highly clerical and theocratic while Anglicanism was Erastian or humanistic (or else opportunist); it was marked by an intense moral idealism sometimes lacking in its more urbane rival. It is noted that most of the Elizabethan statesmen who had made continental contacts threw their support to the Puritan side. But the Queen was an unsurmountable obstacle, blocking even the most desirable reforms, even those which would not have affected the historic structure or the traditional worship of the Church.

Thus thwarted by royal *non possumus*, the Puritans would have shown sound strategy, Prof. Knappen thinks, had they courted the papal Church, with which in certain important respects they had much in common.

"A sorely chastened Rome was hastening to mend its ways. The indulgence abuses were checked, clerical education and morals reformed. . . . The Catholic Church of the Counter Reformation bears no more resemblance to the Church of the fifteenth century than modern Germany does to the Holy Roman Empire. To all intents and purposes it was a separate and distinct institution, one of the new religious bodies to rise from the turmoils of the first part of the century. . . . There was certainly more to be gained by an alliance with the Roman Catholics than by one with hard-swearing Elizabeth" (p. 185).

Startling and misleading. In the first place, the contrast drawn between medieval and post-Tridentine Catholicism rests upon a surface judgment, and can not be sustained except so far as relates to practical reforms. The analogy with Germany is certainly invalid. In the second place, whatever resemblances we may be prepared to admit between Roman Catholic and Puritan clericalism or theocratic idealism, whatever they share in common as a legacy from pre-reformation times, the Puritan "hated Rome with a perfect hatred." The Pope was his Antichrist, the source of all corruptions, all perversions, in religion. His antipathy to Prayer Book ceremonies and vestments he justified on the ground that they were popish inventions. In doctrine and cultus the two were poles apart, and beyond all reconciliation.

Because of the large part that Puritanism plays in Anglican history, the magnitude of the struggle between the two systems, the abiding contributions which Puritanism made to English religion, such books as this deserve to be known and studied—and today all the more so as we are striving to bridge the chasm which separates us from another Communion, in which the Puritan program was realized. The volume ploughs deep in the sources, yet is fresh enough to have made some use of Miss Garrett's very recent *Marian Exiles*. Nobody undertaking a serious study of the making of Anglicanism can afford to overlook it.

Of the several appendixes, one is an admirable survey of the historiography of Puritanism; another locates collections of the literature of the movement in American libraries.

P. V. NORWOOD.

Die Geschichte der evangelischen Theologie seit dem Deutschen Idealismus.

By Horst Stephan. Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1938, pp. xiv + 343. R. M. 6.80, geb. 7.80.

The publication of this survey of German Evangelical Theology from the Enlightenment down to the present time (1938) is an event of some importance. I am not sure that the volume which Dr Stephan, a Professor in Leipzig, has produced is a great work. But it is very ably conceived and carried through; it gives information not to be found elsewhere in a convenient compass (so far as I know); it bridges a gap between a definite period which is fairly well known and one by no means terminated which is for the most part known only in a vague and spotty way; and it is a 'wissenschaftlich' work, a book in the best tradition of German theological science.

The last point deserves special emphasis and comment. The author writes in 1938 but manages to occupy a real vantage ground. He accepts for what it was the revolutionary aftermath of the World War in Germany, with its sequel, National-socialism and the Third Reich. Some passages in which he draws the background of recent history, or delineates the consequences of it for theology, convey an impression of great vividness. Here is one sample:

"Open questions were the characteristic mark of the theological situation around 1914. Now came the earthquake, the subterranean rumble of which had been fully perceived only by a few. It shook to its very depths the life of the soul and with this the empirical faith of Christendom as manifest in the nineteenth century conception of culture and of science, which had influenced theology necessarily in a certain direction. Such a time was not designed for working further in any peace upon the questions transmitted to it. It rather placed in question the very questions thus handed on. So theology, before the strong influences of a new century had been assimilated, was surprised by new weathers. A time of confusion and stormy change, full of uncertainties and fluctuations between sharp oppositions, began for it as for the whole life of the German people. No wonder that a kind of sick condition lay over this time, which could be overcome only through sore pain" (p. 292).

Yet Dr Stephan writes throughout with the most remarkable detachment and objectivity. In commenting on the work of theologians like Barth, Gogarten, and Brunner, he neither approves nor condemns, neither praises nor blames. He simply describes and explains. Similarly with regard to the hard situation in which the older theology found itself after the World War and in reference to the other parallel reactionary tendencies from neo-pagan religious doctrines to the younger Neo-Lutherans, he is content simply to tell the story. There is nothing which suggests his political leanings, or even his theological convictions beyond general approach and scholarly standpoint.

The learned author does indicate clearly a strong sense of the dignity of theology and of its unique, indispensable mission as the servant of Christian

Faith and Truth. The discussions which amplify this point, notably but not solely at the conclusion, are of great value.

From the emphasis placed upon the treatment of post-war theology, it should not be inferred that the work under review is largely devoted to recent men and movements. Actually the great body of the volume consists of a detailed survey of Evangelical Christian Thought from Schleiermacher to Troeltsch, with special emphasis upon Ritschl. It can be said without hesitation that *Die Geschichte der evangelischen Theologie* is a mine of information and discerning critical analysis, and is well worth painstaking study.

An attractive feature is the inclusion of a large number of photographs. In this way vividness is lent the discussion of many famous names from Herder to Otto.

CHARLES W. LOWRY, JR.

The Journals of Søren Kierkegaard. A Selection Edited and Translated by Alexander Dru. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. lxi + 603. \$7.00.

Slightly over one hundred years ago Kierkegaard recorded in his *Journal* the following judgment upon the world which he faced as a young man:

"At the moment one is afraid of nothing so much as the complete bankruptcy, toward which the whole of Europe seems to be going, and so we forget what is far more dangerous, the apparently unavoidable spiritual bankruptcy which is at our doors—a confusion of tongues far more dangerous than the symbolic Babylonian confusion, or than the confusion of nations and dialects which followed upon the Babylonian attempt of the Middle Ages—a confusion in language itself, a rebellion, and the most dangerous of all, the rebellion of words themselves which, torn from the dominion of man, rush upon one another in despair. Out of that chaos people seize hold of the first word that comes to hand, like choosing something out of a lucky dip, in order to express their presumable thoughts. In vain great men coin new concepts and put them in circulation—it is no use. They are only used for a moment, and not even then by very many, so they only contribute to make confusion worse confused. One idea in particular seems to have become the *idée fixe* of the whole age and that is: to have got 'beyond' the man ahead."

In this situation Kierkegaard believed his peculiar individuality and exceptional intellectual powers "a gift of God" to his people. Is it any wonder that students today turn to him more and more as one with a message for their own times?

Now for the first time Kierkegaard's own day-to-day account of his intellectual development and spiritual experience is available to English readers. Mr Dru has selected from the Copenhagen edition of his *Papers*, now appearing in what will come to twenty volumes, some 1409 entries. These are of primary concern for an understanding of Kierkegaard's relation to his father, "the great earthquake," his broken engagement with Regine Olsen, his literary activity, his reaction to the attack on him by *The Corsair*, and his polemic against the established Church in Denmark. Interspersed with these autobiographical pieces are a host of other materials, affording insights into his theological convictions, his conservative politics and hatred of government

by the masses, literary and æsthetic criticisms, personal peculiarities, such as his dislike for "dons and parsons," and above all indispensable clues to his spiritual persecution and crucifixion. The entries begin in 1834, but are only formally kept from March, 1846, and continue, with a few interruptions, to within less than a year of his death (Nov. 11, 1855). Mr Dru's fine introduction is not a biography, but a guide to the *Journals*. In the appendix he publishes several contemporary descriptions of Kierkegaard by those who had reason to know him best. That of his niece, Henriette Lund, does much to overcome the well-nigh inhuman portrait of him which his papers at times seem to give.

Though Kierkegaard refused to leave any instructions as to the disposition of his papers, he certainly anticipated their publication, and even suggested a title for them: "The Book of the Judge." He often remarked that only after his death would the real significance of his sacrificial life be realized. (Yet he shuddered to think what would become of him in the hands of the "dons.") As a consequence, one never touches the very innermost secret of his sufferings. "After my death," he wrote in 1842, "no one will find among my papers a single explanation as to what really filled my life (that is my consolation); no one will find the words which explain everything and which often made what the world would call a bagatelle into an event of tremendous importance to me. . . ." Some of his most intimate disclosures, notably of his relation to his fiancée, Regine Olsen, are torn from his notebooks and destroyed.

Quite apart from their historical or theological value, the selections here published are rich in devotional material. As Mr Dru remarks, "though Kierkegaard's spiritual development was primarily an intellectual process he was essentially a man of prayer." The depth of his life of devotion is everywhere apparent in these pages:

"The love of God is the only happy love; but on the other hand it is also something terrible. Face to face with God man is without standards and without comparisons; he cannot compare himself with God, there he is nothing, and in the presence of God he may not compare himself with others, for that is a distraction."

"... it is unbelievable what a man of prayer can achieve if he will close the doors behind him."

One will find also at times some startling and curious exegesis of Scripture. But it is always provocative of thoughtful reflection.

This is not a book to be read through hastily. It is to be chewed and inwardly digested, not once, but time and again. Kierkegaard's style is not easy, and his thought difficult to follow on first reading. Mr Dru has done admirably his task of translating, and deserves the warmest thanks from all appreciative students of Kierkegaard.

MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR.

The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. By James Moffatt. Harper, 1938, pp. xxxi + 286. \$3.50.

In reviewing this commentary it is easy to become lost in superlatives of praise. The specialist in historical exegesis will find that Dr Moffatt has care-

fully considered and weighed the exegetical problems; while the working clergyman, wishing to preach on a text, will likewise find the material he needs for practical application. And this union of historical perspective and the modern outlook is always legitimate; endless labor must have gone in utilizing for present needs much that at first often seems merely archaistic. So good is this commentary, indeed, that in matters of detail only those points need be listed in which the present reviewer feels dissent; otherwise silence is commendation.

Surely anyone capable of using this commentary will wish to know how to pursue his study further? Why then is there no bibliography at all? And such a minimum of reference to other opinion? Of course these omissions were deliberate; but were they wise? Again, why is there not more allusion to non-Roman contemporary thought and practice? On the "veiling of women," for instance, we are told what Roman matrons used to do (page 149), but not that insistence on the veiling reached its maximum strictness in Tarsus, where the Apostle was brought up, nor of the rigidly established Jewish customs. It was Tarsus and Judaism that lie back of the Pauline thought, not Rome.

To pass to special points: That the Christ party of 1: 12 were "ultra-spiritual devotees" is possible but not very clear. To "baptize" in 1: 15 does not mean to "dip," nor did the Rabbi who saw to the baptism of a proselyte descend into the water with him; here the direct rules of *Gerim* are corroborated by the baptismal ritual in Hippolytus: the "officiant" stood on the bank. While undoubtedly the "rulers of this world" in 2: 8 are "dæmonic" they are not in Pauline thinking precisely "anti-divine," despite their activity in the Crucifixion; they are rather subdivine and mistaken, but capable of restoration to proper obedience. The church courts of later Christianity were very much more than "more or less informal efforts" to carry out the directions of 6: 1-8; like much else in church polity they were taken directly from Judaism (not from Paul) and were "formal" to the last degree. The explanation of the "holiness" of the children of believers in 7: 14 likewise misses the Jewish background. Paul simply reverses the Jewish rule, which made the Jewish partner in a mixed marriage and all the children "unclean"; Christian "holiness" is more potent. (Baptism is not in question.) "To become uncircumcized" in 7: 18 means simply "to give up the Law"; actual physical operations could have been attempted only rarely and could have been successful only still more rarely. The difficulty in 10: 29 b is not squarely faced; is not the text corrupt? On 11: 2-16 it is misleading to say that because Christian meetings were held in private houses (Acts 19: 9 ?) women could dispense with head-coverings; these were public gatherings, open to anyone, even to unbelievers. Yet of course Dr Moffatt is right in arguing that the "social custom" reason is inadequate by itself. In 11: 29 "Body" is taken to be the church and is capitalized to distinguish it from Christ's proper "body." Put Paul could not so distinguish—and would any reader take the word in a sense different from what it bears in vv. 24 and 27 immediately preceding? (By the way, the translation of *eulogein* everywhere should not be "bless" but "give thanks," especially in 10: 16; Jews never ask a "blessing" in the modern sense.) 12: 23

needs further clarification. In chapter 15 there is a deep misunderstanding between Paul and his opponents which Dr Moffatt does not penetrate; Greeks, who believed in immortality, had no doubt that the disembodied soul continued to possess "capacities for action and affection" (page 260), or that, just because it was disembodied, it could possess them to a heightened degree. And we may wonder if any ancient reader would think that "sown" in 15: 44 means not "buried" but "born."

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot, 1645-1727. By Edgar Legare Pennington. Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society, 1938, pp. xiv + 217. \$2.50.

At the age of fifty-seven the Rev. John Talbot became a missionary to the English colonists in America. Over twenty years later the vestries of the churches he served said of him: "By his exemplary life and ministry he has been the greatest advocate for the Church of England that ever appeared on this shore."

It was in 1702 that he first came to this country. He had embarked as chaplain of a ship bound for Boston. On board was the Rev. George Keith, Quaker convert to Anglicanism, first missionary to America appointed by the then newly founded S. P. G. It was Keith who aroused Talbot's interest in the colonists, and on arrival in Boston Talbot offered himself as Keith's assistant. For two years they worked together, travelling up and down the land from Massachusetts to North Carolina, strengthening existing congregations of the Church of England, shepherding scattered Anglicans, and planting churches where none had existed. They worked especially in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, disputing with and converting Quakers. In their view Quakerism was a variety of heathenism or atheism. At the end of two years Keith returned to England. Talbot stayed as rector of the new church of St Mary at Burlington, New Jersey. He exercised a ministry which extended not only to several other communities in New Jersey but also to some in Pennsylvania. Except for a visit to England in 1720-22, he continued his work till his death in 1727 at the age of eighty-two.

The first eighty pages of the book are devoted to a biography of Talbot which includes a description of religious conditions in New Jersey, the mission of Keith, and Talbot's American ministry. His life before arriving in America is summarized in a paragraph. The rest of the book is an edition of Talbot's letters, written between 1702 and 1725, and a reprint of parts of Keith's *American Journal*.

One of the most interesting chapters is that which considers the question of Talbot's consecration to the episcopate. The evidence presented makes it reasonably clear that when in England in 1722 Talbot was consecrated by the non-juror Ralph Taylor, that the consecration was so irregular that other non-jurors refused to recognize it, that Talbot kept it secret for the most part after his return to America, but that he did occasionally let others know of it. There is no evidence that he ever exercised episcopal functions. Had

he desired to do so he could have found few who were willing to avail themselves of such ministrations, since non-juring orders at that time laid the possessor of them open to grave suspicion of disloyalty to the Crown. That a man who always professed devotion to the reigning house and to the Church as established was willing to accept non-juring consecration presents a paradox, which Mr Pennington resolves charitably and in all probability correctly.

The letters are valuable sources for the religious and social history of the colonies during the first quarter of the eighteenth century and Mr. Pennington and the Church Historical Society are to be congratulated on publishing them.

J. A. MULLER.

The Secret of the Curé d'Ars. By Henry Gheon. Translated by F. J. Sheed. Sheed and Ward, 1938, pp. 248. \$50.

Progress and Religion. By Christopher Dawson. Sheed and Ward, 1938, pp. xx + 267. \$50.

These are numbers one and two in a new library of "Catholic Masterpieces" announced by Sheed and Ward—little books clearly printed, simply bound and so cheap that even a person on relief might afford one occasionally.

Henry Gheon specializes in saints and has a good time with M. Vianney, the famous little nineteenth century saint who made the Parish of Ars so famous. As Chesterton says in his delightful essay which completes the volume, "The critics of the Church call many modern things mediæval. But it was in the dull daylight of the manufacturing 19th century that the unearthly light shone from the Cavern of Lourdes. And it was in the full sunrise of the secular age of reason introduced by the 18th century that a nimbus not of that age or of this world could be seen round the head of the Curé d'Ars."

It is a most readable little book, this, and as full of naïve tussles with the devil as a record of St Anthony of the Desert, or of Luther throwing his inkpot. The "grappin" (so the Curé called the devil) "and I are, in a sense, comrades," remarked the gallant little fighter, who had to put up with all sorts of nocturnal noises and pushes and pullings and arsons and sneers and what not from the adversary for more than thirty years. He actually saw the devil with bodily eyes—so Gheon says—but twice: once in the form of a cloud of bats in his bedroom and once at three in the morning when "Auld Hangie" was in the cemetery in the form of a black dog "with blazing eyes and bristling hair scratching the earth" at a spot where an unshriven man had just been buried.

Progress and Religion by Dawson is of course another story. Here is a book which everyone ought to read before he sets out to master the other great books by this well known scholar, *Religion and the Modern State*, *The Age of the Gods*, *The Making of Europe*, *Enquiries into Religion and Culture*, etc.

Christopher Dawson is no doubt the outstanding interpreter today of a Roman Catholic philosophy of history. In this excellent book he demonstrates that all progress depends upon religion for its driving power, and he warns

us that "a society which has lost its religion becomes sooner or later a society which has lost its culture."

GEO. CRAIG STEWART.

L'Histoire Critique de l'Ancien Testament. By J. Coppens. Tournai-Paris: Casterman, 1938, pp. ix + 126. 15 francs.

The importance of this little book demands for it a longer review than its length might seem to warrant.

Fr. Coppens well describes its contents when he says (p. 85) that, had he desired to be sensational, he might well have entitled its three chapters, Whence have we come? Where are we? Whither are we going? The first chapter contains an oft-told story, that of the development of the modern critical position, here very well described; it is accompanied by an excellent bibliography, as are the other chapters, with adequate mention of English and American material and also of the less familiar Scandinavian. The second chapter estimates the effects of increasing knowledge in such fields as comparative religion and archaeology upon the critical position. The third chapter contains matter of less general appeal, mainly the position of the Roman Catholic scholar in regard to the decisions of the Biblical Commission, although there are suggestions here that the teachers in other communions might well ponder.

The book is with one exception objectively written; that exception is a strong prejudice against the general position of Wellhausen; the writer—as many others—seems to exhibit an inability to perceive that the conclusions of Wellhausen and his school may be accepted, even though the premises are changed radically. He brings out most clearly, though unintentionally, the complete lack of accord on the part of those who reject the work of Wellhausen—wholly or in part. There is full recognition of the right to criticize, and no more indication of a desire to return to the pre-critical stage than of the possibility of making such a return.

It is a valuable work, the reviewer knows of none quite like it in English and recommends it heartily. Each reader will, doubtless, find details with which he will disagree; the present writer would question most of all Fr. Coppens' description of the newest critical movements as "nouvelles et créatrices" (p. 81)—New certainly, but creative?

F. H. HALLOCK.

A Religion for Democracy. By Russell Henry Stafford. Abingdon, 1938, pp. 216. \$2.00.

No less a personage than the President of the United States has recently declared that, if the world is to be saved from catastrophe, our economic and political systems must be infused with religion. Even more significant is a similar acknowledgment recently published by Walter Lippmann. In so doing this distinguished essayist tacitly abandons the thesis which he maintained in his *Preface to Morals*, that "disinterestedness" is enough. A purely secular ethics has been tried and found wanting.

In the present book the pastor of the Old South Church in Boston argues convincingly that not only Christian ethics, but also Christian worship and dogma, are essential. To this end he has undertaken to re-examine the fundamental dogmas and ethical standards of Christianity in the light of their social implications.

We have had so many "restatements" of Christianity lately that they have come to be a drug on the market. The writers of most of them, with only the haziest notion of the doctrine of Christianity and no experience at all of its practice, are cocksure that it is ailing; and each one is certain that he alone knows the cure. Their remedies, it turns out, agree that the first step must be to remove all the distinctive and vital elements of historic Christianity and then to substitute a stale and insipid humanism, while disturbing as little as possible the outward form and appearance of cult and dogma. They retain the vocabulary of the faith but rewrite the definitions. The result is a system that is acceptable to Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics—to everyone, in fact, except to those who know what Christianity really means.

The present book is different. Its thesis is that the historic faith, and not a simulacrum of it, is the medicine for present ills. There will be neither peace nor well-being in the world so long as man is held to exist for the State. The doctrine that the political and economic enhancement of the State is the *summum bonum*, the author affirms, is of the devil himself; and from this has sprung the internecine rivalry between nations that is driving each of them relentlessly on to rule or ruin. The very foundation of Christianity, on the other hand, is the affirmation that the supreme value is personality; that the world and all that is in it exists that each individual person may grow in grace to the limit of his capacity; that to this consummation material goods and ills are alike subordinate. Christianity affirms that this value is so transcendent that God himself became incarnate to effect its realization; that only as the individual grows to share the divine life in Christ can this value be realized for him; and that for the achievement he requires not this life only, but also eternity.

The writer analyzes separate dogmas and demonstrates that the same fundamental principles are involved in each of them, not fortuitously, but essentially and necessarily. He discusses: religious experience; the doctrine of God, his immanence and transcendence; the doctrine of man, freedom and grace; the individual and society; salvation and eternal life; individual and social ethics; the Church and its corporate social activity.

The humanistic "re-interpreters" of Christianity retain the vocabulary of dogma but change the meanings. Dr Stafford reverses the process. He discards the vocabulary but reaffirms the meanings. He is no worshiper of words. Words for him are merely bricks. We follow him breathlessly while he takes unfamiliar bricks and fits them together, until at last the structure is completed; and then we perceive that his building is the same as that which the Fathers erected out of the thought forms which they had at hand. To do this, and to do it in two hundred short pages, is the work of a master.

To criticize so excellent a book is almost presumptuous. This reviewer, however, wishes that to denote the freedom of individual personality, which is the ground of Christianity, Dr Stafford had employed another word than Democracy. I agree with him that Democracy cannot exist without Christianity. I am not so sure, however, that Christianity cannot exist without Democracy. Christianity cannot, to be sure, exist without a political system that keeps hands off the right of the individual to achieve his own spiritual development. But such freedom does not necessarily involve Democracy. In the course of history it has often existed under monarchy or aristocracy. Certainly it is not excluded under economic collectivism. On the other hand, Democracy has often developed a tyranny of the majority as ruthless as that of any other political system. Yet, in the present situation, in contrast to Communism and Fascism, it is perhaps legitimate to count Democracy on the side of the angels. After all, this book is a tract for the present time.

One also regrets that the author has failed to grasp all the implications of the Incarnation. This seriously cripples his soteriology. His interest in the Incarnation centers almost exclusively around the Cross; and his explanation of the Atonement is the weakest part of the book. He leaves entirely out of account the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation as a continuing and presently existing fact and of the Church as the Body of Christ. The answer of Christ to the riddle of life is that He brought to pass the perfect union of God and man, of spirit and matter. But if the bond between Christ and the believer is purely spiritual and His influence is entirely *ab extra*—if the words of St Paul, "your bodies are the members of Christ," is a mere figure of speech, the Incarnation is left, so to speak, hanging in the air. The Word is again discarnate.

The author's treatment of the Incarnation, Salvation, and the Kingdom of God needs to be supplemented by the organic concept, expressed in such books as N. O. Lossky's *The World as an Organic Whole* and W. H. Dunphy's *The Living Temple*.

This is a thrilling book. It is one of the small number that you sit up nights to finish. The great trouble with society today is that in most of us the political eye is out of focus with the religious eye. This book is an excellent corrective of our social vision. It is the very best treatment of the subject that has recently appeared.

CHARLES LEMUEL DIBBLE

ANNOUNCEMENT

At the request of many readers, the department of "Notes and Comments," conducted from 1924 to 1937 by Professor Easton, will be resumed in the July number. It will be conducted by Professor Sherman E. Johnson, Ph.D., of Nashotah House.

F. C. G.

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

Biblical

Die Palästina-Literatur. Ed. by Peter Thomsen. (Vol. V, the Literature of 1925-1934, Fasciculus No. 4.) Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1938. Complete volume, pp. x + 12 + 988. RM. 63; bound, RM. 66.

This fasciculus brings to completion Dr Thomsen's monumental bibliographical work for 1925-1934. It includes books on Syria and Palestine today, a supplement giving titles noted after earlier fasciculi were in press, an index and a list of corrigenda. Occasionally there is an omission in the index, and a mistake on p. 103 remains uncorrected, but the work is as nearly perfect as it humanly can be, and scholars will find it invaluable.

S. E. J.

Biblical Backgrounds. By J. McKee Adams. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1938, pp. 517. \$3.75.

The geographical background of the Bible, starting from "Ur of the Chaldees" and ending with the journeys of St Paul, is excellently presented by Dr Adams, accurately and interestingly. Unfortunately the historical section does not stand upon the same level; the viewpoint generally is one now commonly abandoned. Controversy is nowhere introduced, controversial questions are ignored as far as possible and, where such matters do not arise, the history is well set forth; few scholars, however, will be willing to accept the latter portion of the Book of Joshua, dealing with the allotment of the land, as the work of a "contemporary writer" (p. 218). The same viewpoint prevents the use of the latest archaeological evidence, as, e.g., that regarding the capture of Ai (pp. 194-195). The value of the work is enhanced by the inclusion of a generous number of unusually good photographs.

F. H. H.

The Book of Psalms: a Commentary. By Solomon B. Freehof. Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1938, pp. xiii + 414.

This book is one of the series, *The Jewish Commentary for Bible Readers*, intended for use by the people, not by scholars. In accordance with the purpose of the series Dr Freehof avoids critical questions and aims only "to simplify the thought of the Psalms and to interpret the more difficult passages." In general he cites only the Jewish mediæval scholars Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Kimchi, from whom he culls many penetrating observations. The translation used seems to be that of the Jewish Publication Society of America. One need not doubt that the author is, as the editors intend, "thoroughly abreast of modern research," but the imposed scope of his commentary is such that it supplies little information as to the results of that research. There is no hint, for instance, of the division of the Psalms into types. The comments are on the

whole helpful, though so brief and elementary as almost to seem meager. The sincerely religious and practical tone of the book is to be commended.

F. J.

The Basis of Israelite Marriage. By Millar Burrows. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1938, pp. viii + 72.

Dr Burrows supplies here a very thorough study of the arguments for and against marriage by purchase; especially of the meaning of the Old Testament word *mohar* and its cuneiform counterpart *terhatu*, in which he seems to have left no possible bit of evidence unstudied, drawing especially upon the Nuzi and Ras Shamra discoveries. He reaches the conclusion that the *mohar*, bride-price, was a "compensation gift." "One family gives a very precious possession, a daughter; the other 'to put things on an equal footing,' gives a valuable present" (p. 13). "Economic development eventually caused some formal approximation to the system of sale and purchase, but the nature of the transaction remained essentially the same" (p. 15). Students of Old Testament social questions may not accept this explanation—the reviewer sees no reason why they should not; but, in any case, all are indebted to the author for the thoroughness with which he has accumulated all relevant material. F. H. H.

A Diagram of Synoptic Relationships. By Allan Barr. Scribner, 1939. \$1.25.

Professor Barr has drawn up a fine colored chart, over three feet by two, showing the relationships between the Synoptic Gospels. Matthew, Mark and Luke occupy the first three columns. Then Matthew is repeated in a fourth column so that comparison with Luke for the Q passages is made much more simple. The use of the red for Marcan material, blue for Q, white for Matthean special, and yellow for Lucan special, enables the student to see at a glance the use made of the material as well as its order in the finished Gospels.

Many of us no doubt have made charts of this sort; though we have never seen one as elaborate as the present one, nor have we ever seen one reproduced by printing. It ought to hang in every New Testament classroom.

F. C. G.

History and the Gospel. By C. H. Dodd. Scribner, 1938, pp. 189. \$2.00.

The chapters of this book are based on lectures given at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, and at other places. The headings indicate the contents: Christianity as an Historical Religion, The Historical Tradition in the New Testament, Historical Criticism of the Gospels, The Gospel Story, The Church in History. Christianity is an historical religion because, "it depends upon a valuation of historical events as the medium of God's self-revelation in action" (p. 19). The Historical Tradition or Preaching (*kerygma*) is then gathered from Acts and the Epistles, and the Gospels are reviewed as the deposit of this tradition in narrative form. The Gospel Story is interpreted as 'realized eschatology': "The teaching of Jesus is not an ethic for those who expect the speedy end of the world, but for those who have experienced the

end of the world and the coming of the Kingdom of God" (p. 125). Church History suggests some problems to those who accept 'realized eschatology': it is, on that theory, rather a discreditable and over-prolonged episode. The author deals with this paradox in the last chapter, but he is not quite so successful as he is in the chapter on Historical Criticism of the Gospels, a chapter worth reading more than once.

A. H. F.

The Codex Sinaiticus and The Codex Alexandrinus. With six illustrations. By H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat. London: British Museum (Printed at the University Press, Oxford), 1938, pp. 35.1/- net.

This is the best shilling's worth that anyone interested in the New Testament or the Septuagint could own. It is by two assistant keepers of the Museum and contains a plain and popular account of the two great manuscripts of the Greek Bible now in London—with photographic illustrations.

A. H. F.

Jesus and His Church. R. Newton Flew. New York: Abingdon, 1938, pp. 275. \$2.00.

There are those, Harnack among them, who say that a church was not part of Jesus' purpose. The thesis of this book is that it was Dr Flew begins by showing that the religion of the Jews presupposed a community and that the social implications of Judaism were carried over into Jesus' teaching. The Kingdom is the "Kingly Rule of God" announced by the Messiah and received by a Remnant, the "little flock," those who had eyes to see and ears to hear. His teaching was addressed to a perfectly definite community and was meant to be "constitutive of this community." In the second part of the book, Dr Flew discusses the Book of Acts and the Epistles and with great exegetical skill shows how these ideas, which we find in the synoptic Gospels, are carried over into the later books of the New Testament. In spite of all their differences, we find in St Paul's epistles, in the other epistles, in the Apocalypse and in the Fourth Gospel, the same underlying assumption that Christianity involves a community of believers, somehow one with Christ and filled with the power of the Holy Spirit. Dr Flew's conclusions are based on sound scholarship and careful consideration of the positions of other New Testament scholars. The book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the development of the Church in its earliest days, and is particularly important in view of the present interest in the nature of the Church and in Church Unity.

C. L. S.

Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Bd. IV. Lfg. 5. *Leôn-Lupê.* Ed. by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938. RM 2.90.

Continuation of one of the most important and indispensable of modern works upon the New Testament. Earlier notices have emphasized its importance. Every page contains suggestions and references for the exegete and expositor. Take, for example, the article *Lêstês* (by Prof. Rengstorf), where the term is explained in its N.T. use as meaning 'Zealot'—even in Luke 10: 30; our Lord showed his disapproval of the Zealots' methods by telling this story to a

Pharisaic scribe (p. 266). This seems a bit far-fetched. Somewhat more probable is the explanation (p. 267) that Jesus was crucified as a Zealot; but how did the people thus show their "rejection of his Messianism and their approval of that of the Zealots"? This does not quite seem to follow. F. C. G.

The Literature of the English Bible. By Wilbur Owen Sypherd. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 230. \$2.00.

The purpose of this book is to provide an outline for a study of the Bible as English literature. It provides a brief account of the origin, authorship and contents of the different books of the Old and New Testament and Apocrypha and an appreciation of their literary value as found in the King James Version. The book is designed for the University student or the general reader and the author succeeds very well in giving the results of critical Bible scholarship in some detail without becoming involved in too much technical material. In the chapters on the Old Testament there are separate sections on the historical books and the writings of the prophets. There is also a section on the poetry of the Old Testament with some valuable material about Old Testament verse forms. C. L. S.

Historical and Doctrinal

Jesus im Urteil der Jahrhunderte. By Gustav Pfannmüller. 2nd ed. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1939, pp. ix + 574. M. 6.80.

New and enlarged edition of a book first published in 1908. It gives the most significant descriptions or interpretations of our Lord 'in theology, philosophy, literature, and art,' from the first century to the twentieth, quoted from scores of writers of these successive periods, and with good surveys of their general attitude and specific titles, in these forty chapters. It is thus a kind of 'bibliography of Jesus,' historically arranged and explained, and illustrated: there are twenty full page illustrations, from the Good Shepherd statue in the Lateran (3rd or 4th century) to a pencil study of the Crucified Christ (Kurt Zimmermann, 1938). Side by side are Houston Stewart Chamberlain's view of Jesus (3 pp.) and Edouard von Hartmann's (3 pp.), Friedrich Nietzsche's and John Stuart Mill's—to mention only four of the moderns; the fathers, the schoolmen, the poets, mystics and rationalists, historians and romanticists fill up this vast yet compact anthology.

One thing greatly impresses the reader, viz. the endless variety of interpretation given, and the contrasts—the Wagnerian heroics of Chamberlain, for example, and the wearisome *Spitzfindigkeit* of von Hartmann! Have they not one and all read into their accounts of Jesus their own predilections and admirations—and sometimes prejudices? Is there any hope of finding the real Jesus, in the midst of this confusion? Yes, but it is not a task for novelists, essayists, mere *littérateurs*, but only for those capable of patient, long-continued historical research. There is a growing consensus here, among the experts.

We would not do away with the variety of the literary views. Keep them, but recognize them for what they are! Like a collection of Buddhas in a

museum, some are exquisite, some inept, and all of them fall into six or eight main classes or types. Each aims to interpret Christ, after a fashion; and perhaps each has a glimpse of some one thing worth bringing out.

F. C. G.

Kalilah and Dimnah. By Elinor Husselman. London: Christopher, 1938, pp. 41.

This is no. 10 of *Studies and Documents* edited by Kirsopp and Silva Lake. *Kalilah and Dimnah* are jackals in one of the Fables of Bidpai and the study consists in the identification of a Greek manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York with a manuscript once in a monastery at Grottaferatta, but long regarded as lost. The Greek text is given in part and also some photographs of the manuscript. The author concludes that the text is a Greek adaptation, rather than a translation of certain stories in the Arabic version of the *Kalilah and Dimnah*.

A. H. F.

Thomas More. By Daniel Sargent. Sheed and Ward, 1938, pp. 280. Cloth, \$1.00. Paper, 50 cents.

A popular 'edifying' life of one who has been called *hominem omnium Anglorum optimum*, of whose wit and wisdom, candor and courage, there can be little question. Written in a simple, almost conversational style, it makes no pretense at being scientific biography. The author is an American layman, sometime President of the Catholic Historical Association.

Sheed and Ward are to be congratulated on their enterprise in reprinting this series of "Catholic Masterpieces." But this volume suffers somewhat from carelessness in typography, as if quality had been sacrificed to cheapness. Its punctuation is in places weird and wonderful. And it is hardly true that "there has been no full length portrait" of More until now. Sargent by no means supplants Bridgett's *Life*, written nearly fifty years ago.

P. V. N.

Biology and Christian Belief. By W. Osborne Greenwood. Macmillan, 1939, pp. 192. \$1.75.

In this book Dr Greenwood provides a fascinating review of the conclusions of present day biological science together with a discussion of their implications for the Christian religion. He points out that physical science has pretty well emancipated itself from the mechanism of the latter part of the nineteenth century. In biological science this process of emancipation has not gone so far but Dr Greenwood's thesis is that in biological science, as well as in physical science, it is necessary to postulate some sort of creative intelligence in order to explain the phenomena that we find to exist. The book starts with a summary of the conclusions of physical science and goes on to discuss the origin of life, the nervous system, the function of the glands, survival of death, and purpose in the universe. The book is non-technical but at the same time is thoroughly scientific. It can be recommended without qualification to clergy or laity who want to keep informed on recent developments of biological science as they are related to religion.

C. L. S.

The Church and the Christian. By Shailer Mathews. Macmillan, 1938, pp. 150. \$2.00.

In this book Dean Emeritus Mathews studies the function of the churches and the meaning of the Church from the point of view of the history and significance of group action. The social function of the Church is wholly dependent upon its religious function. A church is a group of people organized for a certain purpose and interrelated with other social groups. The duty of churches is not to perpetuate doctrine but to convince other groups and individuals that love rather than coercion alone can bring about the genuine and beneficial progress of mankind. The moral situation in the world today is largely due to the fact that the churches have not seen the social significance of their faith. No "Church Unity" can be achieved on any creedal basis. The only unity possible is that based on the identity of function of the several churches, namely, providing men with the conviction that life can be made worthwhile and beautiful by one power alone—the power of love. P. S. K.

The Contemporary Christ. By Richard Roberts. Macmillan, 1938, pp. viii + 148. \$2.00.

This book is the second in the "Great Issues of Life" series of which Rufus Jones is the editor. Dr Roberts begins by pointing out two "signs of our times." The first is the reaction from a view of religion in which human action is primary, to a view of religion in which the central fact is God's search for man. With this new emphasis comes a new realization of the importance of revelation and a new emphasis on prayer. The second is the reaction from "the now insolvent individualism of the later Protestant tradition toward the idea and practice of community." In the Church, this is marked by the stress in recent years on the so-called "social gospel" and the new interest in church unity. The whole book is a development of these two ideas and their interrelatedness. Community is not possible without Christianity and a type of Christianity centering about God's revelation of himself in Jesus Christ and his continuing revelation of himself through the Holy Spirit. And fellowship with God in prayer is conditioned by our fellowship with other people and our sense of membership in the Christian community. The book is full of suggestive material. C. L. S.

Practical

World Community. By William Paton. Macmillan, 1938, pp. 192. \$1.50.

From his watchtower the editor of the *International Review of Missions* casts an appraising eye over world-Christianity confronting the disintegrating forces of our time. He sees alternating bands of light and shadow, of menace and promise; and refuses to be dismayed. No longer is it the Christian West against the non-Christian East. Dr Paton summons the 'older' churches and the 'younger' churches to join as equal partners in common enterprise for the saving of men and the regeneration of society. A leader in the ecumenical movement, he regards the universal Church as the unique agency through which world-brotherhood may be realized. But first that Church must

itself be manifested, at least in the field of united action and evangelism. Brief though it is, the book is a masterly analysis of the problems and tasks of Missions today and tomorrow.

P. V. N.

The Christ of God. By Henry Balmforth. Macmillan, 1938, pp. x + 125. \$1.25.

This book is the third volume of the Diocesan Series sponsored by the Student Christian Movement Press. It sets forth clearly and in simple language what the Church believes about the Person of her Lord and why she believes it. The essential purpose of the book is to make it plain that the classical Christology of Christendom is but "the expression of an experience and a faith which makes a crucial difference in the way men live their lives." The book would serve as an excellent textbook for a study group of intelligent laymen.

P. S. K.

Psychology Serving Religion: A Practical-Guide to Life Adjustments. By Richard D. Hollington. Abingdon, 1938, pp. vii + 248. \$2.00.

This book will be heartily welcomed by the busy clergyman anxious to keep abreast of developments in the field of psychology which may be an aid to him in his pastoral work. The author, himself an expert psychologist, has had some 30 years experience in the pastorate. The book is simply written; contains an amazing amount of valuable material, and is filled with practical suggestions to aid the pastor in his "problem cases." It is divided into four parts, namely: "The Genesis of the Soul," "Normal Adjustment," "Maladjustment," and "Readjustment." The fifteen chapters adequately review almost the entire range of current psychological thinking particularly as it bears upon religion.

P. S. K.

On Sure Foundations. By A. E. Simpson. Morehouse-Gorham, 1938, pp. 200. \$1.00.

Everyone who visits our Cathedral in Chester, comes away impressed with the apparent vitality of the religious life which radiates from that ancient fane. The reason is not far to seek. The Catholic faith is believed and taught and practiced there with passionate enthusiasm.

This excellent little book—a sequel to the author's earlier *Corner Stones of the Catholic Religion*—deals clearly, briefly, interestingly with such subjects as Confirmation, The Eucharist, the Reserved Sacrament, Confession, Cere-monial, The Saints, Democracy, etc.

There isn't one of the 18 chapters which the average priest will not find valuable to him. I only wish our clergy might soak themselves in this book and instruct their people accordingly.

G. C. S.

Asking Them Questions. Ed. by Ronald Selby Wright. (Second Series.) New York: Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 242. \$1.25.

"Theology," wrote Canon Barry, "is sometimes accused of giving elaborate answers to questions which nobody wants to ask."

This book doesn't do that. It gives answers to questions that are often and very seriously asked. Such questions as these: Why don't miracles happen now? What is the Relation between Faith and Fact? Is there such a place as Hell? Are the Sacraments necessary? Why doesn't God destroy the Devil? Isn't 'Listening In' to a service as good as going to Church?

Forty such questions are answered briefly, thoughtfully, skilfully. To be sure, what makes the book valuable is the calibre of the men who answer the questions. These are men like the following Anglicans: Dean Inge, Bede Frost, Lord Hugh Cecil, Father Hebert, Dean Carpenter, Father Thornton, Professor A. E. Taylor, Don Clement, and the following distinguished Dissenters: Barbour, Garvie, Cairns, Davidson, Duncan, Maxwell; also Bulgakov, Kagawa, and Father Woodlock of the Jesuit Church, Farm Street, London.

These chapters are like broadcasts, terse, tense, direct. You cannot do better than get this volume and see how far the answers would be what you yourself might give.

G. C. S.

State Population Census by Faiths. Meaning, Reliability, and Value. By H. S. Linfield. New York: Hasid's Bibliographic and Library Service. 1938. Pp. 72.

This is an analysis of the reports of religious affiliations contained in governmental population censuses in the several nations and other political bodies of the earth. It does not relate to unofficial enumerations by religious bodies. The volume contains a table of all the states in which such census is taken together with the exact form of the question on religion in each case; the summations of the census returns; the extent to which the census results are utilized by state authorities and religious bodies. It then discusses the reliability and value of such censuses. Owing to differences in the forms of the questions such religious statistics are likely to be extremely misleading. For anyone who undertakes to cite them this book should prove indispensable.

C. L. D.

Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique, Doctrine et Histoire. Publié sous la direction de Marcel Viller, assisté de F. Cavallera et J. de Guibert. Fascicule viii, *Cassien-Chappuis*. Paris: Beauchesne et Fils, 1938, pp. 242-495.

Among many biographical studies, there is a long article on St Catherine of Genoa with a criticism of von Hügel's well known book on that saint. The article on Cassiodorus makes no mention of Mynors' edition of the *Institutiones*. The number contains interesting articles on 'Célibat Ecclésiastique' and 'Cénobitisme.'

A. H. F.

The Living Church Annual. The Year Book of the Episcopal Church. 1939. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1938, pp. 586. \$2.25.

Probably the majority of the clergy regard this *Annual* as an almost indispensable desk book. Would it not be an aid to an informed constituency if the material in the 'Annual Cyclopaedia' and 'Organization of the Church' sections were made available in pamphlet form each year for the Laity?

A. H. F.